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Biography

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**HITLER'S
TWELVE APOSTLES**

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HITLER'S TWELVE APOSTLES

By
OSWALD DUTCH •



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PREFACE

THIS BOOK WAS CONCEIVED when there was as yet no war between Germany and Great Britain—the early summer of 1939.

But even then it was already obvious that sooner or later Great Britain must become involved in a dispute with National Socialism. With the German people, no; with their leaders, yes. The National Socialist system in the Third Reich is in general personified by Hitler. Something about Goering, Goebbels, and Ribbentrop is possibly also known. But the knowledge of non-Germans regarding the other forces grouped around Hitler is too slight for them to be able to understand the Hitler system and comprehend it as a whole.

Hitler is most certainly the focus of the system of power, but he is not the system itself. He is merely the rallying-point for widely varying ideas, proposals, methods, and tendencies.

He is not even the real founder of National Socialism, nor did he originate its principles, theories, and practical aims. He is only the fanatic who understood how to fashion, out of a thousand hints whispered to him, this conglomerate of heterogeneous extravagancies parading to-day under the name of National Socialism. But even this description is approximate. National Socialism is not something static, not a firmly founded theory, but a movement which is perpetually in flux, which is altered and veers from moment to moment according to Hitler's whims and wild fancies, based ultimately on his opportunism.

National Socialism is, as we have said, a conglomerate

of heterogeneous extravagancies. It does not rest upon conviction, experience, trial, or indeed tradition. It is but a product, and an artificial product at that, of German distress, of the dismemberment and desperation of a people in the period following the collapse of 1918. The national concept is perhaps the only proper and honourable principle of Hitler's system. But even this great and noble idea in the hands of a psychopath, a genius but unprincipled, has been distorted by megalomania and self-conceit.

Around the national idea, great in itself but gone awry, Hitler flung a scanty cloak of partly mistaken and partly impracticable theories. He tricked it out with fine feathers and decked it with symbols. And so arose an abortion, a scarecrow, a phantom with feet of clay, which troubled and sought to hurl into calamity first the German people and then the whole world.

Hitler needed and still needs a ring of collaborators and henchmen because, apart from his 'mission' and his fanaticism, he cannot enliven the system with any thoughts of his own. These were on the one hand men with ideas, on the other executive officials. Without this gang of accomplices neither Hitler nor his system is conceivable.

Much has already been published about Hitler personally and his system, but outside Germany very little is known of those twelve men who are to-day, with Hitler, the most prominent representatives of National Socialism. Individuals among them are perhaps as much responsible for the form which has sprung from the idea as he is, but all of them, without exception, must bear responsibility for the power politics and perversity of a movement striving for form, a movement which now has emerged for us as National Socialism.

On the 1st of September, 1939, Hitler and his twelve advisers unleashed the dogs of a new World War. The

blood of millions of human beings is upon Hitler's head. His twelve advisers and henchmen share his guilt and become Twelve Apostles of Evil: the Disciples of the Anti-Christ—this must be our conception of Hitler to-day—for with the Führer these twelve embody the power-system of National Socialism.

Even as Hitler these twelve must have been a cut above the average to have attained those posts which otherwise are only reserved for the *élite* of humanity. Their capabilities are in fact far above the average. They are energetic, untiring, inventive, fanatical, violent. Many are clever—or shall we say crafty?—pioneers, and sometimes even geniuses. But they make use of all their capabilities and talents not for good but for evil. They are brutal and ruthless, they arouse the evil in people instead of the good, their aim is enslavement and not freedom, they despise law and justice, they substitute for culture the laws of violence and the mailed fist—and by these would rule.

Even evil in its way may be great and take on a certain grandeur. This has happened with these twelve men around Hitler. The majority of them do not know what fear is. They are ruffians and bullies, but many of their performances are not to be despised. In the short space of twenty years—for National Socialism is a bare twenty years old—they have created anew out of a completely vanquished and battered nation a world power before which not only its neighbours, but also the whole continent of Europe stands in dread. There must have been something in these men for them to have accomplished this, and, whatever it is, it would be well properly to understand their characters and capabilities.

There may be a lot to say about these 'Führers' which is not to their credit, but wherever there is something in their favour it shall not be suppressed. It is the worst mistake of all to underestimate an adversary. So far as is

possible what follows will be just to them. The greater part of the material which has been used is from National Socialist sources, and what the National Socialist biographers publish regarding their heroes will, naturally enough, not be considered as laudable in democratic countries. Where they are relevant, the thoughts and dicta of these men will be quoted word for word.

Out of their own mouths they are best condemned.

O. D.

LONDON,

October, 1939.

These are Hitler's Twelve Apostles:

Brauchitsch

Ribbentrop

Himmler

Hess

Rosenberg

Goering

HITLER

Goebbels

Ley

Schirach

Funk

Frick

Streicher

THE FRAME

THE TWELVE MEN with whom we are to deal neither founded nor invented the National Socialist German Workers' Party (*die Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*), for this is the official title of the sole Party in Germany at the outbreak of the new World War. Curiously enough, even Adolf Hitler did not found his Party himself.

The actual godfathers of this Party were different men entirely, men of whom Hitler made use in the early years, who then were either set aside or murdered.

The real founder was Anton Drexler, a Munich tool-maker. On the 7th of March, 1918—the war was still raging—this man had founded a 'Free Workers' Committee for a Good Peace' (*Freier Arbeiterausschuss für einen guten Frieden*). This Committee was a little group of proper public-house politicians. They were men with fat paunches, red faces, and deep booming bass voices, who for the sake of their good German natures and a considerable sense of their own unimportance at a time when most Germans were in the field, wished to contribute their mite by undertaking 'something for Germany's greatness'. The 'something' was this. Before the launching of Germany's spring offensive on the Western Front they put forward demands for Germany's conquests: Serbia, Rumania, part of Belgium, Poland, the Ukraine, the Russian Baltic Provinces, Albania, and other lands as well were to be occupied by the 'good peace' of Germany and Austria. These men were craftsmen, foremen, horse-dealers and others of the lower middle-class who were politicians round

the pot-house table together. Drexler's committee numbered forty members at that time.

After the collapse of the German Front and the Armistice it was obvious that a 'good peace' in the Drexler sense was not to be obtained by Germany, and the Workers' Committee was transformed. It received the name of the German Workers' Party (*Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*).

The Party needed a new programme too. Since nothing better occurred to Drexler he agreed with his colleagues to put forward a wide programme understandable by the general public, which, above all, was to suit the craftsmen, small tradespeople, and minor officials. The programme was the re-establishment of a German-ness (*Deutschtum*), the union of all Germans and war against Jewish rivalry in trades and crafts. The Party did not wish to appeal to the intelligentsia or the organised working-classes, but to the unintelligent and the great mass of the unorganised who were only to be won over by great national slogans and promises of minor special advantages.

Even at this period, the beginning of 1919, 'the Party' still numbered no more than forty members.

At that time Adolf Hitler, who after the war had been demobilised as a corporal and was without a regular means of support, was busily occupied in earning a little cash by unimportant lectures and nationally political speeches. In his endeavours he had become acquainted with some influential officers of the Reichswehr, Captains Röhm and Mayr to mention the chief, who after the disbanding of the German Army were zealously employed in making contacts with the so-called Fourth Class, the lower middle-class and tradespeople. These men hoped, by attracting non-military clubs and organisations, to set up some sort of 'hidden assistance cadres' (*schwarze Hilfskaders*) and substitute formations which could later possibly serve to strengthen the Reichswehr. At that time Adolf Hitler was

giving lectures, under Röhm's patronage, to increase the national spirit.

The *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* pleased the Reichswehr because it had national aims. But as it was too small and had so few members, Captain Mayr decided in the early autumn of 1919 to send two of his men to reconnoitre this club: they were Corporal Adolf Hitler and the 'press reporter' of his department, a man by the name of Hermann Esser, a name we shall later come across very frequently.

This hour was decisive for Hitler and the whole world.

Not one of the present-day Twelve Apostles was in that little, smoke-blackened beerhouse, the 'Party pub' of the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*. But Adolf Hitler, the 'observer' of the Reichswehr, met there a band of curious and different mortals. These were the men who were of importance in the foundation and early development of the N.S.D.A.P. (*National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*).

First of all there was the president of the Party, Anton Drexler, the toolmaker. A staunch, basically respectable, upright man of ideal parts, simple, and very patriotic. He thought for himself, and, like the majority of his friends, he felt himself obliged to contribute something towards the re-establishment of the Fatherland. He was one of the really clean characters of the Party, and for this very reason he was very soon crowded out by Hitler and later on dropped entirely. This Anton Drexler, the forgotten toolmaker, was, after all is said and done, the founder of Hitler's Party.

A second odd figure in this assembly was Dietrich Eckart, a journalist on the homely Berlin *Lokalanzeiger*, a man of good common sense but not too well educated. Heavily built, pleasant, with a broad square head, a Virginian cigar always in his mouth, often uncouth and racy, he was typical of the beer-drinking Munich in-

habitant. If Drexler is the founder of the Party, Dietrich Eckart is Hitler's discoverer. He it was who, with Captain Röhm, not only set Hitler before the footlights but also trained him and gave him advice.

Then there was Weber, the horse-dealer, another fat, pleasant, comfortable Bavarian, the man with the money-bags, who was always expected to step in when it was a question of modest financial support.

Yet another member of this circle was the engineer and 'economist', Gottfried Feder. He had written a pamphlet about 'shaking off the yoke of usury' (*Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft*) which aimed at setting aside capitalism and eradicating usury from the world. He made a very primitive and naïve differentiation between so-called productive capital and interest-consuming capital or, as he expressed it, a 'creative and rapacious capital'. This rapacious capital was to be abolished. It was this theory that first laid hold of Hitler and formed his economic schooling. Gottfried Feder, the man himself, had a magical fascination for Hitler too. Feder was elegantly and carefully dressed. He had a little toothbrush moustache whereas Hitler had a goatee, and the latter immediately felt himself called upon to imitate Feder and deserted to the celebrated 'toothbrush'.

A fifth man whom Hitler met in this little beerhouse was Hermann Esser, likewise Captain Röhm's envoy. He was young, a political desperado, and a ladies' man, but a gifted writer, a good propagandist and a brutal bully.

The gathering in which Hitler found himself then was enthused with national ideals, but was predominantly Bavarian. It is common knowledge that the Bavarians hate the 'Prussian swine' like poison. This was Hitler's cue on that memorable day. One of the members made a speech—not a particularly bright one—in which he made out that all political disasters originated with Prussians.

Bavaria must separate itself from Prussia and the Reich and pursue National Socialist ideals on its own.

Hitler sprang up in a rage. He was supposed to be at the meeting merely as a looker-on, but now he was obliged to protest. In a speech lasting half an hour he condemned his predecessor root and branch. A new and great Germany must be created, forces must not be squandered in a mutual hatred of German against German, Bavarian against Prussian, there was no egoism at rock-bottom, all should combine together to make a common front.

When Hitler was leaving the meeting Anton Drexler, the chairman of the club, ran after him and handed him a pamphlet which he, Drexler, had written. It was called 'My Political Awakening' and was chaotically confused but patriotic. Hitler studied it that same night. He was tremendously affected. He found there some of those thoughts which, in complete confusion, were struggling for expression in himself. Drexler's thoughts were confused too but their aim was clearer. The next day Hitler visited Drexler. He offered his co-operation in the Party. An executive member had just resigned whose Party number was seven, and although the Party at the time Hitler joined had quite forty members, he received a Party ticket bearing the famous number seven. And he joined the executive right away.

From this day, almost precisely twenty years prior to the outbreak of a new war between Germany and the Western Powers, dates the effectiveness of the *National-sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*. Hitler had found his sphere of activity.

Those men who belonged to the Party in the first place were on a lower intellectual plane than Hitler. Even then he was a violent man unable to control himself. He immediately had to seize the leadership. That would not have been possible if he had, with no more experience, entered a

superior intellectual atmosphere. This is the reason for National Socialism's not being, and not becoming, an intellectual movement. It is the reason that prevented the majority of men around him from being more clever and more powerful than he was himself. He simply did not allow it. This also explains why most of his intimates and under-leaders must be irresolute beings.

Anton Drexler was formally president of the Party, and he remained so even after Hitler had joined it. But Drexler was only a toolmaker from the railway workshops; an ailing man who suffered with his heart, now perplexed, now moved to sudden rage. He had only one basic thought: he wished to win over the German worker, who is first of all the Social Democrat and therefore internationally inclined, to his National German notion. That was his only idea, and by means of it he could indeed recruit his forty-odd members but not the thousands and millions who peopled Hitler's wild dreams.

Propaganda is what is needed to swell a membership. The man for this was that young ne'er-do-well, Hermann Esser, a talented propagandist. It was to him that the idea occurred of making the Party popular and well known in quite a different way from the other 'serious' Parties. Esser had in mind a kind of 'Fair', an idea that might be expected of his frivolous disposition and one which really gave the N.S.D.A.P. its peculiar stamp and is in use to-day. Before Nazi meetings, on walls and houses enormous red posters are pasted, on which, in the way of Fair placards, not only is notice given of the impending meeting, but also are scrawled anticipatory indications of the speeches, anti-Semitic and other provocative demagogic catch-words. Likewise, in the manner of circus announcements, lorries drive through the streets with vast numbers of supporters dressed up, shouting, throwing out leaflets and waving swastika flags and standards. Then there is the staging of

the meeting itself. Uniformed Party members come goose-stepping along, the band plays, there is a flourish of trumpets, an aisle is formed, and, finally, surrounded by his bodyguard, the speaker of the occasion, often Hitler himself, struts out into the dazzling light of the reflectors.

A magnetic attraction! It is an entertainment and a play at the same time, and a political lesson in demagoguery and incitement into the bargain.

Hermann Esser staged this kind of propaganda while Dietrich Eckart, the public-house politician and journalist, continually supplied new ideas. When Eckart had heard Hitler speak a few times in the beerhouse circle he resolved to take over the intellectual guidance of the young paper-hanger's assistant, whose oratory showed fanaticism and talent, but no schooling. His chief advice to Hitler was that he should have proper instruction in elocution. He helped him to give his speeches a finish, to shape the sentences, to study certain poses, and always to keep contact with the masses when speaking. The public must collaborate, that was Eckart's advice. Meetings must proceed in the framework of a game of question and answer. At a given catchword a few well-drilled supporters must applaud, break out in 'Heils!' or thrust out their hands and arms to 'set the masses in motion'. It was Dietrich Eckart who confirmed Hitler in developing Esser's Fair-technique to a fine art and in making propaganda the centre of his activities.

Hitler is an apt pupil. Eckart may well have thought that Hitler and Esser would merely be the 'drummers' (*Trommler*) who would popularise his own ideas. But Hitler soon realised that he could make very good use of Esser's flair for propaganda and Eckart's ideas for boosting himself. His personality proved itself stronger and his will power greater than that of Esser, Eckart, or 'President' Drexler. We must make no bones about the fact that of these men Hitler was the most useful and the most vital.

Esser was a ne'er-do-well, without a doubt, a lady-killer, always hard up, a poseur, and a coward. Hitler himself has probably pronounced the most caustic judgment on Esser. 'I know that Esser is a scamp, show me such another if you can. He's a vain fellow, fond of intrigues, he's a coward, too, a liar, and a gossip. He can never be taken at his face value.' Hitler pronounced this judgment mainly because on the day of the Munich *putsch* Esser stayed in bed. He did not want to be forced to take a part in it. Esser tried to seduce his comrades' wives. He took bribes whenever he could. This did not prevent him from being for years Hitler's most intimate friend, and from being with him day in day out: and this same Hermann Esser, in spite of the above judgment, after the National Socialists came to power received a ministerial post.

Dietrich Eckart was of an intrinsically finer calibre. He was respectable, his judgment was good, his knowledge of human nature was profound, and his learning considerable. His chief failing was that he imbibed too much beer. Beer was more important to him than politics and beer soon destroyed him. Even in 1923 he was seriously ill and two years later he died of a fatty heart and alcoholism. He had, however, guided Hitler intellectually and shown him the way, and had also brought along numerous useful co-operators, Rosenberg being the most important. With him Eckart had founded the *Völkische Beobachter* in 1921.

Worse happened to Anton Drexler, founder and first president of the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*. Immediately following the first few months of Hitler's activities in the Party he was thrust to the wall by the Austrian. For two years he was allowed formally to keep the leadership. When, in July, 1921, Hitler had gone to Berlin for a time, Drexler, with Julius Streicher, hit on the idea of reorganising the 'Party'. Streicher at that time was the recognised anti-Semitic leader, and a national speaker in Nuremberg.

Hitler was to be cut out, Drexler and Streicher were to take over the Party and run it on their own. But Hermann Esser and Dietrich Eckart immediately called Hitler back from Berlin by wire. There was a big quarrel between Hitler and Drexler, which led to the enforced resignation of the former president, and from the 29th of July, 1921, Hitler was undisputed leader of the Party. Drexler certainly still remained a member, but from this time he was regarded by Hitler as a superfluous necessity. He had, indeed, supplied the ideas, formulated the first written principles, founded the Party, and made the organisation available. But he was too stupid, too idealistic, too respectable to prevail where the other men were concerned. He quietly resigned and withdrew more and more into himself. In 1924, when Hitler was in prison, he was, it is true, elected as a deputy for the National Party and was even chosen as vice-chairman of the Bavarian Landtag, but four years later he vanished completely from politics and since then has played no further part.

However important and basic the influence and co-operation of Drexler, Eckart, and Esser may have been for the early development of the Party, yet these three men pale into insignificance beside a fourth. This man not only played a decisive rôle in these beginnings but he also made his influence felt on the policy of National Socialism in the later years until 1934. He was a real personality, the subject of much dispute. His name was Ernst Röhm.

Ernst Röhm, captain in the Reichswehr, and, as we shall see later, Gregor Strasser, the chemist—both slaughtered by their Party friends in 1934—were, with Adolf Hitler, indubitably the strongest factors in the National Socialist Party. They must be described here rather in detail, not only because they repeatedly interfered effectively in the development of National Socialism, but also because the figures of Hitler's Twelve Apostles, with whom this book

is chiefly concerned, acquired their form and manner chiefly from these two.

Captain Ernst Röhm was the type of a captain of mercenaries with political ambitions. Every inch a soldier, he was also a far-seeing politician, an organiser *par excellence*, and a genius of a strategist. First as a patron, then as a friend, and finally as a subordinate he was truly and unquestioningly devoted to Hitler and loved and worshipped him, even though his faults were not beyond his criticism. But besides these commendable characteristics Röhm, like the bulk of National Socialists, was brutal, lacking in restraint, a pleasure-seeker and bloodthirsty. And he had yet another failing: he was a pervert, a homosexual. He preferred to choose his friends among similarly disposed perverts, he backed every murder committed for the Party, he was cruel and sadistic. Yet he was a man indeed, and what a man!

Ernst Röhm was, above all, a patriot. During the war he had fought on the Western Front, and being a talented officer he was quickly promoted. After the war, in consequence of his military, political, and organising capabilities, he was taken over by the German Reichswehr. As the only real politician he played a decisive rôle in the Munich Reichswehr command. In Germany patriotism had sunk to zero. It was not a matter of the general fate of the nation, but of the domination of conflicting political tendencies. The Communists had proclaimed the *Räte-republik* in Bavaria, and Kapp was trying to carry out a nationalist *putsch*. Armed companies, who had brought their rifles and machine-guns back from the war with them, struggled against each other for power over the interior. On the 12th of May, 1919, the Reichswehr, under Röhm's leadership, had been victorious over the Munich Communist government. The same reign of terror, with shootings and taking of hostages, was carried on by the Reichs-

wehr as had been employed by the Communist rulers a few weeks before. A gang of young officers had, with the aid of Röhm's brains, already banded themselves together before all this in the so-called 'Iron Fist'. Their object was to bring order into the chaos by military and national exploits.

Röhm at that time was occupied in uniting the Right clubs and was also seeking suitable men among the troops for conducting propaganda of a national and 'Right' nature among the masses. After his discharge from hospital, where he was recovering from the effects of gas-poisoning, Lance-Corporal Adolf Hitler had reported to his troop at Munich, and presently came to Röhm to offer his services as a speaker and propagandist for the National movement. Röhm, as a captain in the Reichswehr, was just then, as it were, Lord God Almighty to humble, starved, and ragged rankers. It was Röhm's service, for which history will certainly not thank him, to have detected in this tattered, goatee-bearded, and hollow-cheeked corporal, the capabilities of a fanatical orator. It was Röhm who gave Hitler money, furnished him with a better uniform, sent him to meetings of soldiers as a speaker, and literally saved him from death by starvation. Hitler soon attracted Röhm's attention by his speeches, and the Reichswehr dispatched this former corporal to meetings other than soldiers' gatherings. In this way, as we have said, through the Munich Reichswehr Hitler got into touch with Drexler and the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei*.

Captain Röhm, as has been said, was not only a soldier but a far-seeing politician. He was firmly convinced, without waiting to see how it worked, that the Versailles Peace Treaty must be sabotaged and gradually rendered inoperative by 'Nordic cunning'. Even in 1919 there arose in Röhm's brain and, nourished by him, likewise in the imagination of Corporal Adolf Hitler, the idea of tearing up the Peace Treaty, which at that time was not yet settled in

detail. And so the war that was to break out twenty years later was plotted and systematically prepared in the brains of the Reichswehr and their fanatical follower, Adolf Hitler, immediately after the end of the World War.

The Peace Treaty of Versailles took away from Germany important areas of territory and imposed unusually heavy war reparations; and not only this, but Germany was to limit her standing army to 100,000 men. This was the obligation that the Reichswehr, and Captain Röhm in particular, were striving to correct. For these officers said to themselves, and they were not entirely wrong, that without an army and without rearmament a revision of the 'Shame Treaty of Versailles' would not be possible.

Captain Röhm's chief idea was this. Beside the official standing army of 100,000, large cadres of an auxiliary force were to be created with the help of the Reichswehr organisations. These would be united on a fixed date to play an equally important but numerically incomparable rôle beside the army. Röhm therefore began setting up 'hidden military formations'. For that he needed appropriate men. Communists and Social Democrats were rejected without more ado because to Röhm they seemed too honest and peace-loving to co-operate in such deceitful organisations. More important to Röhm, and the Reichswehr therefore, were the clubs labelled patriotic and national, whose young members appeared to be the most serviceable material for training as auxiliary soldiers.

For this reason a man like Adolf Hitler, fanatically nationally-minded, half-way to being a good speaker, who had arisen from the dregs of the people and therefore could appeal to them, was the most apposite tool. It must not be thought that Röhm merely made use of this one man. Hundreds of similar beings roved about in Munich and other parts of Bavaria at that time who were delighted to earn a few marks by playing soldiers or allowing their



CAPT. ROEHM, SHOT BY HITLER ON JUNE 30, 1934.

opinions to be bought. Only it must be stressed that of all these Adolf Hitler was certainly the most gifted, most fanatical, most desirous of learning, and most ambitious. To this was due his rapid rise from among the other obscure nonentities.

The Munich Reichswehr had almost unlimited means, in grants and subsidies from the German heavy industries, for setting up fighting organisations against the 'Socialist terror.' By these means the semi-military formations were fed which were to serve the objects of the Reichswehr as well as those of Capitalism in a war against Socialism. Hitler and his Party not only got their necessary funds from the Reichswehr but also arms and instruction. Anton Drexler's *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* came under the Reichswehr's patronage, and it was the Reichswehr too which financed Esser's propaganda and Hitler's marches. Lastly, but not least, they supplied all too readily the arms and instructor officers needed in the construction of the *Sturm-Abteilungen* (S.A.). Captain Röhm made himself available as training officer to this army of mercenaries, and later on he was the undisputed leader and commander of the auxiliary force, which from modest beginnings had grown to not less than 2,400,000 men by 1934! Without these auxiliary organisations Germany would never have been in a position to begin a war as early as 1939, a bare three years after the introduction of general conscription. For, based on this key idea of Röhm's, large sections of German youth received a military education from 1919 onwards, and a considerable part of the falling off in properly trained sets of recruits was levelled up.

But Röhm did even more for Hitler. After the first successes of the new popular speaker he introduced him to the leading politicians of the Bavarian capital. He smoothed Hitler's path to the Reichswehr Generals, von Epp and Lossow; he introduced him to Pöhner, the chief,

and Dr. Frick, the Oberamtmann of the Munich police, and even to the all-powerful administrator of Bavaria, Generalstaatskommissar von Kahr. It was Röhm's wish that Hitler as a Party man should not only levy mercenaries and create opinion in the lowest circles, but also study in the school of high politics, make himself prominent as a Party leader and conclude pacts with the actual wielders of power.

Röhm also wanted to use Hitler as a compliant tool for his plans as the latter had already endeavoured to do with Drexler and Dietrich Eckart. Confronted with the all-powerful captain, Hitler, the corporal, was insignificant, but his will to power and his dogged pursuit of his own aims was so great that it was not he who became the captain's tool but Röhm who became his.

The contradiction in the aims of Röhm and Hitler was from the start as clear as daylight.

Röhm intended to use Hitler for the purpose of constructing an auxiliary organisation for the Reichswehr, the S.A. to wit, as his ready instrument.

Hitler, however, intended the S.A., created with Röhm's help, to be a Party body only, purely for its own defence and not as assistance for the Reichswehr.

In this struggle, which lasted a full fifteen years, Hitler and Röhm had their alternating successes, but 'the Bohemian Corporal' was finally the victor, and on the 30th of June, 1934, Röhm lost his life at Hitler's hands.

This conflict between Hitler and Röhm was first apparent in a very moderate form in the spring of 1923. At the beginning of that year Röhm had persuaded von Kahr to lift the general ban against meetings, to which the National Socialists too were subject, for Hitler's benefit. The National Socialists might hold their meetings again in the interest of the national cause; they even had, as it were, a monopoly where meetings were concerned. But

Röhm did not wish that Hitler should take, beyond the limits of this concession, any political action which did not entirely fit in with Röhm's chief aim, the establishment of secret military organisations. Thus it was Röhm's view that the National Socialist Party should not make trouble at a mass meeting of Social Democrats at Oberwiesefeld, near Munich, on the 1st of May, 1923, whereas Hitler had chosen the occasion as a trial of strength for his supporters. Hitler believed even then that he had outgrown Röhm's tutelage. When, against Röhm's will, Hitler made his armed S.A. men march out to Oberwiesefeld, the troop was disarmed by its own unofficial commander Röhm, the Reichswehr captain and Party man, and his soldiers.

This first conflict, later followed by others more serious, did not prevent Röhm from continuing to show a most lively interest in Hitler and his Party. With his military patron as intermediary, Hitler had made an acquaintance from whom he promised himself great things but who later proved to be one of his most bitter disappointments. Field-Marshal General von Ludendorff, Chief of General Staff to Hindenburg and to the entire German army throughout the war, joined the N.S.D.A.P. Like all common soldiers of the war Hitler had a boundless respect for this generalissimo for his military and political acumen and for his popularity and great name. He believed that by harnessing Ludendorff to the Party waggon he could unite under his standard, the swastika, the entire Right of Germany—the Nationalists, Conservatives, patriots, military nobility and the upper classes, because their most patent representative had attached himself to National Socialism. But in this Hitler committed a double error. On the one hand it was manifest that this great German General had impossible and absolutely childish political views, and, as a man, did not possess even the craftiness of a mediocre agitator. On the other hand Ludendorff's influence on the Right was

nowise so powerful as one would have assumed after his successes and failures in the World War. For in Republican Germany he was somehow considered more responsible than Hindenburg for the collapse and so for losing the war. Moreover, Ludendorff had got himself into such bad odour by his senile meddling with heathen rites and by his completely nonsensical publications that in more important circles he was no longer taken seriously.

In spite of this Ludendorff had quite an influence on the development of the National Socialist Party. Hitler decided with Captain Röhm on the celebrated *putsch* on the night of the 8th-9th of November, 1923, in the Munich Bürgerbräu, mainly in reliance on the fact that Ludendorff's co-operation would probably cause the police and Reichswehr, who were called upon to suppress the *putsch*, to lay down their arms. Hitler could not believe that soldiers would dare to shoot at a band headed by General Ludendorff.

This was his third error and his third disappointment where Ludendorff was concerned. For when the armed S.A. men marched up on the morning of the 9th of November the police and soldiers fired, although Ludendorff, with a cane in his hand, was in the front rank.

This Bürgerbräu *putsch*, which played such a great part in the development of National Socialism and was prepared with Röhm's assistance, must be briefly described here because it will repeatedly be referred to in this book.

Röhm, in company with Hitler, had hatched this plot relying on the S.A. and that section of the Reichswehr which was devoted to the former. Power in Munich was to be seized by violence, and then with the assembled Bavarian Reichswehr a 'march on Berlin' was to be undertaken in imitation of Mussolini in Italy a short while before.

Even then Hitler had to suffer the reproach of lack of

good faith, which has been levelled at him so often since, and just recently continually and with justice by Mr. Chamberlain. Before the *putsch* Hitler had expressly and solemnly pledged his word to the Bavarian authorities that he would not have recourse to violence. Naturally he broke his word. Before and after this occasion he has often forgotten his word of honour the very next day, and broken it.

On the evening of the 8th of November a gathering of Munich functionaries took place, at the invitation of the big industrialists, in the hall of the Bürgerbräuhaus. Generalstaatskommissar von Kahr was to make a speech. On the dais with von Kahr were Reichswehr General von Lossow and Colonel von Seisser, chief of the Munich police. Röhm did not intend to have a *putsch* before the 10th of November, and had made his preparations for that day. But Hitler decided to strike two days earlier because he considered a meeting of all the influential persons in one hall a favourable opportunity. It was a regular theatrical *coup*. Hitler put on his best suit, a long black frock coat, pinned on an Iron Cross and pocketed a revolver. He drove to the Bürgerbräukeller in a taxi after he had called out the entire S.A. and all his supporters. With careless insolence he ordered the police to clear the way for him. Then, when he saw the hall was full to overflowing, flourishing his pistol, he stormed in at the head of a section of his trusty men at the very moment that von Kahr had started speaking. With Hitler, at the head of the S.A., Goering and Graf, a butcher's slaughterer, pushed into the hall. In his black frock coat, his hair carefully barbered with a definite parting, Hitler jumped on to a chair. He let fly at the ceiling with his revolver and roared out, 'Quiet!' The dais was besieged by the militia and Hitler leaped up and announced, 'The national revolution has broken out. This hall is surrounded by six hundred heavily armed men. Silence at once or there will be a machine-gun in the

gallery! ' (This machine-gun had actually already been set up by the S.A. at the entrance of the hall.)

Von Kahr, Lossow, and Seisser were declared under arrest and were compelled to promise at the point of the pistol that they would make common cause with the putschists. Meanwhile Ludendorff had been brought and Hitler, after he had called for a tankard of beer, proclaimed very excitedly, his words falling over each other: 'I propose his Excellency von Kahr as Provincial Administrator. Further I propose Herr Pöhner as Prime Minister. The Government of the November criminals is declared discharged. Ebert is declared deposed. I therefore propose that until accounts are settled with the November criminals I take over the political lead in this provisional Government. General Ludendorff assumes command of the German National Army. The task of the Provisional National Government is to start the march to Berlin, that sink of iniquity.'

But although Hitler had in this way proclaimed himself President of the Reich as early as 1923, he was not yet to make history. Von Kahr, Lossow, and Seisser did not consider that a promise of co-operation in the *putsch* coerced from them by violence was binding. That same night the police and that section of the Reichswehr really attached to General Lossow were mobilised. In the executive only two men showed any opposition. These were Dr. Frick, the chief of the political police, who was arrested that night, and Captain Röhm, who, with some soldiers, had occupied a barrack block and fortified it.

The next morning, when Hitler realised that the Government was not behind him but was mobilising in opposition, he decided to march with his armed companies to seize power by violent means and in the face of the resistance of the police and the Reichswehr. He was too early by twenty-four hours, for Röhm had only called up the

great mass of the S.A. for the 10th. Available to Hitler for the 'conquest of Munich' was only the comparatively small force of some 5,000 men. In addition Röhm had seen to it that the bank of the Isar would be occupied by the military. Even a few guns had been taken there. (One of the occupying commands on the Isar bank, which in the subsequent course of events was quite forgotten, was under the leadership of Gregor Strasser, an unknown chemist, who was later Röhm's chief adversary.)

The 'Proclamation March' of the National Socialists through the city was headed by Hitler, Ludendorff, Goering, and Freiherr von Scheubner-Richter, Hitler's chief political adviser. Streicher later joined the leading group. At the first police cordon Ludendorff's presence helped to restrain the policemen from shooting. The procession was able to pass unmolested. In front of the Feldherrenhalle a second police cordon faced the marchers. The police had their rifles cocked, and although they were a ridiculous minority to oppose the oncoming 5,000 of the S.A., they were preparing to shoot if the advance continued. Two S.A. men, one apparently Streicher, sprang out of the ranks and endeavoured to enforce the advance by indicating Ludendorff's presence. When this was of no avail the two made as if to disarm the police officer. At this moment a shot rang out which was followed by a volley from the police. Scheubner-Richter fell at the first shots, while Hitler flung himself down and sought cover. He crept back, jumped into a car, and was taken to a place of safety by his friends.

Meanwhile in the square in front of the Feldherrenhalle a sharp and decisive battle raged. Sixteen National Socialists and four police fell before the National Socialists yielded to the much weaker police force. It must be said to his credit that General Ludendorff continued on across the square with his cane in his hand without attempting

to take cover, whilst Hitler immediately took to flight and Goering was dragged away by his friends severely wounded.

The *putsch* had collapsed. Hitler was arrested soon afterwards. Goering fled over the frontier and most of the other leaders surrendered. It was not until the next day that Röhm, without any further show of resistance, was arrested and disarmed in the district command seized by him.

And with this the first phase of the National Socialist movement concluded. The Party was dissolved. Hitler, Hess, Streicher, and Frick were imprisoned at Landsberg: Goering fled to Austria and then to Italy.

The rebuilding of the Party was undertaken by Alfred Rosenberg and Gregor Strasser, who had not been so directly involved in the *putsch*.

But before the character of Strasser is depicted in detail some data relating to Röhm must be disposed of. After the *putsch* he was dismissed the service. He got a living, according to his own autobiography, published by the *Eherverlag*, in occupations 'at the very name of which any respectable person would blush for shame' (Ernst Röhm, *The Life of a Traitor*, an autobiography). In 1927, during the war between Bolivia and Paraguay, he was summoned to South America as organiser to the Bolivian army, in which he served as Lieutenant-Colonel until 1930. He did sterling work in this period, and created a classically modern army out of a mere mob of soldiers.

In 1930 Hitler recalled Röhm. He was to take up the reorganisation of the S.A. with considerably greater resources than had been at his disposal before. Röhm's work was amazingly successful—perhaps even too successful. For in the succeeding years the S.A. became a power in the State which threatened to be a danger to the Reichswehr itself and perhaps even to Hitler. Organisation belonged to Ernst Röhm's better side.

Ranged on the other side, however, there was a whole string of much worse, even abominable characteristics, and these prevented this great and extremely talented man from attaining loftier aims. Mention must first be made of Röhm's unnatural inclination, homosexuality. His make-up was originally entirely normal, his bi-sexuality curiously enough first manifested itself in 1924. Medical opinion traced this inclination of his to a war wound affecting the bridge of the nose and some areas of the forehead. In spite of this wound, incurred in the war, his perversity would probably not have appeared if one of the most repugnant figures of a Party which was already most unpleasant in itself had not played the 'seducer': this was Heines, murderer and officer in the volunteers. Lieutenant Edmund Heines was the type of a volunteer gone to seed. A large, uncouth fellow, with womanish features, who, in spite of his large stature, gave the impression of being 'a girl in disguise'—Heines had been described thus by his friends. This man united in his person pretty well all the bad qualities, being brutal, a murderer, blackmailer, perversely lustful, lewd. This was the man whom Röhm had chosen as friend, or rather 'lady friend'. For a while Röhm was completely under his influence. He not only placed him at the head of the S.A., but also systematically elected a crowd of his creatures, who were almost without exception homosexuals, to leading positions in that body. This troop became predominantly and openly a rallying point for men with unnatural feelings. Röhm sheltered all these doubtful figures with his name and his person, although he had the effrontery to publish a decree by which the admission of homosexuals into the S.A. was forbidden. He discriminated, however, where his chosen favourites were concerned, and he was thus the greatest offender against his own ban.

Heines' influence on Röhm was entirely disintegratory.

This Reichswehr captain, before so zealously ambitious, became slack and a prey to every evil influence. Again and again there were differences of opinion between him and Hitler, due to the leading position of the S.A. and to the selection of henchmen introduced by Röhm. When Hitler took over the leadership of the Party again in the spring of 1925 there was soon an open rupture between the two men. Röhm wrote to Hitler that he was resigning from the leadership of the S.A. Hitler answered not a word. Two weeks later, on the 1st of May, 1925, Röhm inserted a statement in the *Völkische Beobachter* to the effect that he was retiring from politics and resigning the Party leadership. Simultaneously he wrote a sort of farewell letter to Hitler: 'Remembering the happy and heavy hours we have passed together I am taking this opportunity of thanking you sincerely for your comradeship and begging you not to deprive me of your personal friendship.'

To this too Hitler answered not a word. That was his only thanks to Röhm, who had lifted him out of the gutter, who had sacrificed himself and his career for Hitler. Another item should be mentioned. It was Röhm who supplied the cash for acquiring the *Völkische Beobachter*.

When Hitler recalled Röhm in 1930 the latter set out from Bolivia within twenty-four hours in order to rejoin his beloved Führer immediately. In the years which followed not only did he reconstruct the S.A. in a sterling manner but he also worked with great success behind the scenes among his former Reichswehr colleagues for the benefit of Hitler and the Party. Röhm it was who, in 1932, with Schleicher's aid, brought about Brüning's fall, who hoisted von Papen into his seat as Chancellor, and opened Hitler's way to the Reich's Chancellery. Over this whole period he was indeed faithful to Hitler but against Gregor Strasser, and against Goering too, very much in arms. And finally he paid for this with his life. Hitler, who had be-

haved just as perfidiously towards the brothers Strasser, towards Drexler, the founder of the Party, and a whole host of other friends and patrons, had his mind made up for him only too willingly by Goering in June, 1934. Ernst Röhm, his best friend and comrade at arms, was to be sacrificed.

The old quarrel about the leadership had come to a head just then because Röhm had demanded that the two and a half to three million men of the S.A. should be incorporated in the army. As von Blomberg, the chief of the Reichswehr, resisted this proposal, Hitler feared a revolt of the S.A., and on the 30th of June, 1934, the Führer himself flew to Munich. At Wiessee, at the sanatorium there, Röhm was undergoing curative arsenical treatment and Hitler arrested him and handed him over to the minions of the Gestapo for immediate execution. At the same time Lieutenant Heines and many other sub-leaders were disposed of, some shot in their beds, others dispatched at the Gestapo quarters. Such was the end of Ernst Röhm, who had certainly many crimes on his conscience, who had erred much and betrayed many, but who had always been faithfully devoted to the man who finally 'obliterated' him without even a trial.

On the same day Gregor Strasser was dispatched by the Gestapo at Goering's command. With Röhm, Gregor Strasser was decidedly the best brain of the National Socialist movement. He accomplished at least as much for the Party as Röhm and he would have been justified with Röhm in claiming a better reward than death. It must be added that he was no idealist, nor was he absolutely trustworthy, but in the grim dance of the National Socialist shapes he stands out somewhat like a shining figure.

When Hitler was in prison at Landsberg the Party threatened to die out completely. Hitler did indeed en-

deavour to maintain from Landsberg his hold over the Party; he was in a state of collapse, though, and half-insane. He could not decide on anything in reply to the repeated demands put to him by those of the Party who remained loyal, moreover he reversed any decision half an hour later, and was quite incapable of organising work. Consequently he decided on the 8th of July, 1924, to resign the leadership of the National Socialist Party. Once more he tried his luck with Ludendorff, who was to reorganise the Party. But Ludendorff realised at once that he was quite unsuited for and incapable of keeping in check a band of proletarians, footpads, mercenaries, and power politicians, and he appointed the chemist, Gregor Strasser, then aged 32 and very ambitious, to the actual political leadership. He certainly had political talent, he was an excellent speaker, a good organiser, and, what was rare in National Socialist circles at that time, a man of independent means without a stain on his character. He joined the Party out of sheer enthusiasm and a spirit of sacrifice. He brought his whole fortune with him and unselfishly offered it by degrees for Party ends. Working with him was his brother Otto, who was a very gifted journalist and had an excellent general education.

Gregor Strasser was a gift from the gods. Certainly he despised Hitler's immediate acquaintances and even Hitler himself, whom he repeatedly reproached for having been led astray by bad company. Strasser hated primarily such unsavoury associates as Esser and Streicher, but he had harsh words too for Röhm and Goering. To him these two seemed in no way suitable to become exemplars in the rebirth of the German nation.

Gregor Strasser immediately set about constructing a new Party organisation, which this time was to be constructed less in Munich and Bavaria than in the rest of the Reich, principally in North Germany. The object of this

was to remove the purely Bavarian flavour and to create a real Reich Party. Gregor Strasser had a reasonably good eye for intimate co-workers, and his two private secretaries were none other than, firstly, Dr. Josef Goebbels, and later, Heinrich Himmler. Apart from this Strasser was also able to interest a crowd of intellectuals in the Party—engineers, barristers, physicians, and, chiefly, civil servants. Almost all these men were inclined to the Left in their opinions, but they rejected Socialism. What they were seeking in the new Party and the new leader was a kind of substitute for Socialism: Strasser was a Left extremist of the Party and at the same time an opponent of Communist and Social Democratic methods.

The chief bone of contention between Hitler and Strasser was peculiarly enough in the stress laid on the name of the Party. Hitler acknowledged *National Socialism*, Strasser *National Socialism*. In other words, Hitler merely had a national programme, in which Socialistic tendencies were only admitted for reasons of opportunism: Strasser, on the other hand, put Socialist, or rather anti-Capitalistic, demands to the fore and merely embellished them with national slogans. In later years Gregor Strasser made a speech in the Reichstag which was extremely good, and in which this tendency of his was seen at its purest. He said:

‘The rise of the National Socialist movement is the protest of the nation against a State which denies the right to work and the re-establishment of a national living wage. If the distributive machinery of the world economic system of to-day does not understand how to distribute the wealth of nature in a proper manner, then this system is wrong and must be altered. The vital point about present developments is the great anti-Capitalistic hankering which runs through the nation; this at the moment has gripped, whether they know it or not, some 95 per cent. of our people.

This anti-Capitalistic longing is not in the least a refusal of the morally justified property arising out of work and thrift. In particular it has nothing to do with the senseless and destructive tendencies of the International. It is the protest of a nation against a degenerate economy, and it calls upon the State to break with the demons Gold, World Economics, and Materialism, to cease thinking in terms of export statistics and Reichsbank discount and to be in a position to re-establish an honourable living wage for honourable labour. This anti-Capitalistic yearning is a proof that we are standing at a great turning point in time: the victory over Liberalism and the introduction of a new way of thinking into Economics relative to the State.'

Never would Hitler, never would any of the other 'leaders' of National Socialism have been able to come near to expressing in such a pithy and inspired form as Strasser in this speech Germany's real problem at that time. But from what has been said before about Hitler it is quite obvious that he would look askance at any man with real ideas, who really thought, even if he were doing honest and excellent work for the Party. Hitler never tolerated more than average men beside him, or indeed men below this level. There were, too, a host of other supporters of Hitler who were afraid that Strasser would clean the Augean stables and thrust aside many of his associates. Therefore when Hitler was granted an amnesty and discharged from prison before his time was up, Esser, Streicher, Röhm, and others immediately sought to persuade Hitler to take over the leadership again. And Hitler was only too willing.

Strasser was a real personality. 'The only one in the National Socialist movement who was reminiscent of Mussolini', so Oswald Spengler describes him. But he was a man lacking personal ambition, he was easy-going and addicted to beer and good company. Consequently he was

not on his guard at all when Hitler wished to dislodge him. On the 27th of February, 1925, Hitler took over the Party again at a mass meeting in the Munich Hofbräuhaus. Strasser was not present, but he had, by his silence, given his consent. A fortnight after this meeting he made a declaration that he wished to co-operate with Hitler as equally entitled to the leadership. But he went to Berlin and there founded his own wing: the 'Strasser movement of the National Socialist Party'. Until the end of 1932 he practically held the leadership of the Party in North Germany, and even remained the 'political commissioner' of the whole Party.

Repeatedly there was serious friction between him and Hitler. Strasser, for instance, was for the expropriation of the princes; Hitler was against it. Strasser and Goebbels favoured co-operation with the Soviet; Hitler and Rosenberg, however, took a sharply anti-Bolshevist line in the Party. In Berlin Strasser founded a rival organ to the Munich *Völkische Beobachter*; this was the *Berliner Arbeiterzeitung*, under Strasser's brother Otto. Strasser and Goebbels even went so far as to work out a new Party programme which laid greater stress on the Socialistic side of the movement. But in 1926, when Goebbels deserted Strasser and intruded on Hitler with his blatant flattery, Strasser had to give in on most points and to subordinate himself to Hitler. Though originally Hitler had rejected almost all of Strasser's wise suggestions because he had not thought about them himself, later on he gradually adopted the bulk of Strasser's programme. Only he could never decide to make the Party as much 'Left' and Socialist as Strasser had wished, because in the meantime he had sold himself to the big industrialists who were to finance the movement and make it a power in the State.

The rulers of democratic Germany—Hindenburg, to mention the chief—assessed Strasser much higher than

Hitler, who by Hindenburg was never called anything else but 'the Bohemian corporal'. Whereas Hitler had twice endeavoured, in vain, to persuade Hindenburg to appoint him a Minister, in 1932 Hindenburg, surprisingly enough, offered Strasser the post of Vice-Chancellor in a Cabinet under Schleicher. Hitler raved, accused Strasser of treachery, and had violent spasms and fits of frenzy. Negotiations lasted some days, and Strasser gained ground visibly. But he was, as we have said, in spite of his diligence in organising, his tireless speaking, and his wealth of ideas, personally easy-going. He did not want this eternal wrangling with an hysterical Hitler. On the 4th of December, 1932, he delivered an ultimatum: was he to decide in favour of Schleicher's offer to appoint him Vice-Chancellor? Hitler, who considered not the gain for the movement but the personal affront, summarily rejected the proposal.

This was too much for Strasser. He was disturbed to the depths of his quiet and easy-going soul. He sat down and wrote a farewell letter to Hitler. He would co-operate no longer. In anger and disappointment he unloaded all that he had stored up over a long period, passed a devastating judgment on Hitler's course and his counsellors, itemised the failings of the Party. With visionary foresight he went on to say that Hitler's tactics, his retention of his advisers—mainly Goering and Goebbels—must bring calamity and chaos upon Germany, that the Party would end by converting Germany into a heap of ruins. Words which to-day sound more prophetic and more justified than the statement by Himmler that National Socialism would endure in Germany for 22,000 years! Finally Strasser, Vice-Chancellor-designate of the Reich, was overcome by such disgust that after finishing this letter he packed his bags and immediately left Berlin for Lake Como. For the German nation and for the world this temperamental outburst was a calamity: but for Hitler this disgusted re-

nunciation on the part of the most powerful Party member cleared his way to domination.

Strasser returned to Germany in later months. 'On account of his previous services' he was pushed into a minor post, entirely non-political: he became manager of the chemical works of Schering-Kahlbaum. At midday on the 30th of June, 1934, he was arrested in his house by the Gestapo of Goering, his bitterest enemy. A few days later Frau Strasser received an urn containing ashes, and on it was written: 'Gregor Strasser, born 31.v.1892 at Geisensfeld; died 30.vi.1934. Office of the Secret State Police, Berlin'. Thus Hitler and Goering rid themselves of their opponent, although he had achieved extraordinary things for the Party.

Strasser's brother Otto was able to escape to Czechoslovakia, where he formed the 'Black Front' as an anti-Hitler organisation and as an executor under the will of his murdered brother.

The aim of this book is not to write a history of the Hitler movement but to depict those figures who have left their imprint on the Third Reich. But for the sake of completeness and the better understanding and classification of the characters involved, the development of Hitler and the Party from 1925 until 1933, that is, until the 'seizure of power', must be sketched. In contradiction to Strasser, Hitler, on taking over the Party again in 1925, first sought links with the big industrialists in order to improve the Party's financial basis. It was Streicher who first procured cash for him, then Hitler made use of the City editor, Dr. Funk, and finally of von Ribbentrop, the champagne agent, as intermediary to Rhenish industrialists and financiers. The families Hanfstängel and Hofmann, and later Richard Wagner's widow and his son Siegfried saw to it that Hitler gradually made an entry into 'high society' and the 'salons'. The November *putsch* marked the end

of Hitler's *Sturm und Drang* period. Although Hermann Esser continued to be his most intimate friend, he took every opportunity of freeing himself from the middle classes and being introduced into the upper classes. Unbridled and shameless, he used his friends and patrons merely as stepping-stones to his own ends—at best they were the mere financiers of the Party. Helped by the big industrialists, he finally succeeded in mustering so much support that he was able to set up large and effective apparatus for propaganda. In 1928 twelve Deputies of the N.S.D.A.P. entered the Reichstag, in 1930 the figure was 107, and at the beginning of 1932 230. An abrupt and enormous rise followed the November *putsch*—only explicable by the fact that the German Parties of the Right supported Hitler because they believed that through him they could come to power. They were deceived, as were many of his personal friends. When Hitler was actually in power he betrayed them, dispatched them, and persecuted them, just as he did all others whom he could no longer directly misuse for his own ends. Yet at the close of 1932 the rise of the Party appeared to be at an end. An abrupt falling off of followers occurred, and in the second election of 1932 the National Socialists lost 3,000,000 votes and thirty-three mandates. But at this moment Franz von Papen, the former Reich Chancellor, one of the most dangerous intriguers in present-day Germany, helped Hitler to power by his influence with Hindenburg. Before this General von Streicher, a friend of Captain Röhm, had already tried to smooth Hitler's way to Hindenburg; for Hindenburg was the only German statesman who resisted to the uttermost Hitler's appointment.

On the 30th of June, 1934, General von Schleicher and his wife were murdered by the Gestapo. Franz von Papen was marked out for death by Goering but was able to escape to the Reich Chancellery. Here Hitler himself gave him

sanctuary. He still needed von Papen. Actually von Papen slipped Austria into Hitler's hands in 1938, and he too had a deciding influence in the reconciliation between Hitler and Stalin in the autumn of 1939.

On the 30th of January, 1933, Hitler became Chancellor of the German Reich. With him in the Cabinet was Vice-Chancellor von Papen as representative of the civil Parties, Privy Councillor Hugenberg as Minister of Economics, and Seldte, the leader of the *Stahlhelm*. Hitler once more gave his famous word of honour that in no circumstances would he make changes in the Cabinet. Naturally his word was soon broken, for seventeen months afterwards the last civil representative was forced from the Government, and the last remnants of civil liberty exterminated. The remaining Parties were literally destroyed with fire and sword. Ambushed in authority, the S.A. commenced their reign of terror. After the 30th of June, 1934, the National Socialist terror raged even more fiercely in Germany.

In the six years of unlimited National Socialist domination the German nation has become entirely lawless. Although Hitler and his disciples had, before the seizure of power, coined the catchword, 'One basis of national greatness is the will of a people to self-assertion in the world', yet to-day the German nation merely plays a part in Hitler's policy in so far as it serves as a pretext for the aspirations of its rulers. The weal and woe of the German nation is not a consideration which moves the leader of National Socialism.

It must be appreciated that Hitler and his Party have raised the German people from the deepest despair to exaggerated self-consciousness. But now this same German people is once more to plunge into the deepest degradation. If Hitler, having accomplished a revival, had held his hand, one could not have failed to call him great indeed. But his

greatness grew to megalomania, and thus Hitler and his circle were ranged against their own people.

That is, briefly, the frame within which the twelve rulers around Hitler move. Each has contributed in large measure to the construction and founding of National Socialism, each has hammered a fresh nail into the coffin of the German nation. Their greatness, like that of Hitler, has degenerated into megalomania and presumption. When Hitler began his new war, a war prepared by him and Röhm twenty years ago, these men had unfortunately acquired such importance outside the bounds of Germany itself that now even abroad one must reckon with their capabilities and failings, their genius and their crimes.

And now let them march past, one by one.

THE FIRST APOSTLE

Hermann Goering, the Preacher of Modern Air Warfare

LIEUTENANT BRUNO LOERZER would like to have a chat with Lieutenant Hermann Goering.'

In the autumn of 1914, when this visit was announced to him, First Lieutenant Goering was in a private room in the military hospital at Mülhausen, laid up with severe rheumatism in the joints.

'Come in, old chap. I couldn't wish for a better visitor!'

'As I happened to be passing this way I just had to visit the best friend of my garrison days. What's up with you? Are you wounded? Where did the bullet catch you?'

Goering began to storm.

'Wounded? Bullet? Sheer rot! I've been lying here for a few days because I got rheumatics in one of those cursed trenches. I had to grovel in a mud-hole instead of having a go at the Frenchies, and here I am as a consequence.'

Loerzer laughed.

'That's what comes of belonging to such an out-of-date crowd as the infantry. I've better news for you. I've been ordered on a flying course. What about it, old chap? Wouldn't you like to come a-flying with me? The day after to-morrow I must be off to Darmstadt to report for my course there. Wouldn't it be a good idea if you came too?'

Goering began to storm again.

'It's easy enough for you to make fun of me, you're hale and hearty. Of course it would be a good idea to join the airmen. But you are off in two days' time and God knows

how long I may stick here before I am able to stir myself again. Upon my word you always did have the luck!'

'Luck? It's yours too for the asking. Just report yourself fit and come along with me. Rheumatism isn't a bad enough complaint to stop you.'

'It's no complaint at all. But I can't stir, that's the curse of it.'

'Think it over, perhaps you'll be along all the same.'

Two days later a strange young officer was before the reporting colonel at the Stenay aerodrome near Darmstadt.

'Sir, First Lieutenant Goering, regiment of infantry, Prinz Wilhelm No. 112, to report.'

'What do you want here?'

'Sir, I beg to report that I should like to join the Air Force.'

'Any particular qualifications?'

'Born at Rosenheim 12th of January, 1893, of a family of officers. Father in the service of the Colonial Office first in Germany, then in East Africa and Haiti. Educated in the cadet college at Karlsruhe. Brother officer of Lieutenant Loerzer transferred to this regiment. I should like to be in the Air Force with my friend Loerzer.'

'Your training as airman?'

'None so far.'

'Released by your regiment?'

'No, sir. I'm on the sick list. So far none of my superior officers know that I'm reporting. Lieutenant Loerzer brought me here out of hospital in his plane.'

'Insubordination, in fact.'

'Sir, I'm ready to take my punishment at any time. But I should very much like to be with my friend Loerzer. I deserted from High School to get into the cadet college: cadet is a step up from schoolboy, and a pilot is something more than an infantry officer.'

'We shall see,' said the Colonel. 'Stay here and await orders.'

There was naturally a frightful to-do in Goering's regiment when it came out that he had left hospital without the permission of his superiors. He had to undergo the appropriate punishment, but was relatively mildly dealt with in view of the fact that he had merely deserted from sick-quarters, and in the end he was granted a transfer to the Air Force. Together with Loerzer (who in March, 1933, was called upon by Goering to look after the German Aero-Sporting Club) this young officer, even at that time violent and keen on change, made his first flights over enemy territory. In the autumn of 1915 he obtained his pilot's ticket at Freiburg in Breisgau, and from then on he flung himself heart and soul into flying.

Pilots, and above all military pilots, who look death in the face at every moment, are a special race of men not to be measured by normal standards. They are ever hazarding their lives; they become fearless because they dare not let themselves be afraid. Their ways are incalculable too, they are irresponsible, and often their foolhardiness borders on sheer lunacy. Goering was a typical pilot. Daring, energetic, very quick to make up his mind, exorbitantly vain and ambitious, he was all these things; his was a profession raised above ordinary soldiering. When the immediate dangers of his job were over he was full of the joy of living, and he was brutal, inconsiderate, and blood-thirsty. For three whole years it was his official task to shoot down as many of the enemy as possible and to do damage wherever he could: and he had to rely entirely on his own decisions, presence of mind, and responsibility.

On the Somme as early as 1915 he was severely wounded for the first time, but in March, 1916, he was again in action. With his pilot's flair for what was his proper province he once more made a change. After his recovery

he was supposed to go to Böblingen to join the reserve of pilots there, but instead of doing this he wired his superiors, 'Unable to look up Böblingen. Going direct Front.'

In the next two and a half years he had fabulous luck. Thrice as by a miracle he escaped death and was not even properly wounded. When he had shot down his first twenty enemy aircraft, mostly English, he received the Order *Pour le mérite*, the highest German military decoration. After the death of Captain von Richthofen, his famous commander, Goering himself became captain of the Chaser Squadron, and by the end of the war a total of thirty-six victories stood to his credit. He was reckoned one of the most foolhardy and self-willed of the German airmen, and his greatest *coup* as an active pilot was made, strangely enough, after the Armistice. On the 10th of November, 1918, he had received orders to surrender his whole squadron to the American troops who were opposite. Once again, as he had done several times before, Goering refused to comply with the letter of his orders. He planned to fly to Darmstadt immediately with his whole section in order to avoid surrendering the machines. But fog held him up for more than a day and it was only at the last moment, at 10 A.M. on the 11th, when the Americans were preparing to take over his squadron, that the weather cleared up. Goering gave the order to take off and his whole party roared away towards Darmstadt, leaving the Americans gaping. But the weather was not clear enough and some of the chaser squadron, having lost their way, were forced to land at Mannheim. The military authorities there immediately deprived them of their arms and imprisoned them for serious insubordination. Goering, who succeeded in landing at Darmstadt with part of his command, at once inquired after the missing flyers and heard by telephone the news of their arrest. A few minutes later he ordered the trusty airmen who had won through to

Darmstadt with him to be off to Mannheim immediately. He radioed an ultimatum to the military authorities of the town that his comrades must be released at once and they and their machines be given an unimpeded take-off: if this was not done within the hour Mannheim would be bombed by his squadron and razed to the ground. The bombs on his aeroplanes were ready for release, and as Mannheim had no defences against aircraft it was decided to let the arrested officers go and allow them to continue their flight. Goering and all his men were consequently able to make their escape to Darmstadt without hindrance.

This was typical of Goering, even if the upshot did not alter matters. For a few days later he, in company with thousands of his comrades, found himself captain on pension, face to face with a country in a complete uproar where there was, above all, no room for men of his stamp.

Goering had learnt nothing apart from military drill and flying, and very quickly realised that he certainly had no opportunities in his native land. While on service he had once had a nervous breakdown and had found solace in morphia. Morphia helped him again now. It made him forget, temporarily at any rate, his ill-governed rage, his disappointment, and his exasperation. In spite of this his will to live was strong enough for him to seek to build a new life outside his homeland.

He went to Sweden, had to go hungry at first, starved, and tried casual jobs. He sought work as a mechanic, then even as an unskilled labourer, but repeatedly offered his services as trained pilot for propaganda and advertising flights, etc. He had to take-off from anywhere, on the worst and most antiquated machines, for film productions or business undertakings, risking his life time and again for a paltry sum.

On one of these flights in an old plane, almost unfit for use, he had to make a forced landing on the estate of the

Swedish Baroness von Fock. He was hospitably entertained there and became acquainted with Karin, the daughter of the house, with whom he fell in love. As Karin von Fock found this wanderer to her liking they were married comparatively soon after, and the former pilot-captain and the wealthy baroness became man and wife. Goering was freshly equipped, given good food, and generally cared for. Above all a fight was energetically waged against his craving for morphia. As Goering could follow no proper calling, his young wife persuaded him to complete his studies at once. In the autumn the young people went to Munich, where he was supposed to study economics. The records at the university there, relating to the examinations which he should have taken, make no mention of him, and he hardly entered his name for lectures, much less attended them.

As he had nothing to do all day he was quickly lost in those dark political machinations then afoot in Munich. In October, 1922, he was present for the first time at a meeting in the Königsplatz when Hitler was speaking. The extravagant and fantastic key of the 'Bohemian corporal's' speech awoke no immediate echo in Goering. But when he heard from some officers whom he knew in the Reichswehr at Munich, chiefly from Captain Röhm, that the corps placed certain of their hopes in this zany, on the 12th of October, 1922, he decided to meet Hitler. The difference between the two men was very considerable. Hitler, formerly a picture-postcard painter and a dispatch-rider who had never risen above the rank of a humble N.C.O., contrasted somewhat too violently with a pilot-captain from a very distinguished family, who had the *Pour le mérite* decoration into the bargain, was married to a Swedish baroness and owned an elegant villa in the suburbs of Gern. But here, as so often on other occasions, Hitler's personal powers of conviction came to the fore. The

Austrian made it quite clear to this Prussian officer that the Reichswehr were powerless to reorganise Germany until the people were won over. Goering allowed himself to be convinced. He promised Hitler that he would co-operate actively with him so far as his capabilities permitted, and was immediately entrusted with the organisation of the S.A. This was a task which suited Goering. He was always in his element when brawling or showing off. As early as December, 1922, he was appointed Führer-in-Chief of the S.A. (O.S.A.F.) and dealt with the original organisation of these mercenaries and hired bullies. Wherever there was contradiction or opposition at Hitler's meetings Goering and his ruffians broke in and let fly at these political opponents with truncheons, beer-mugs, and knives until the last Social Democrat had left the place, and Hitler had gained another 'victory'.

As was only to be expected, Goering and his S.A. were to the fore at the bloody *putsch* in Munich on the 9th of November, 1923. But while Hitler and other close friends of his preferred to make a prompt bid for safety at the first shots and vanished from the scene of action, Goering and a few of his hirelings joined battle with the police in their customary way and finally his friends carried him away severely wounded from the square. His wife, with the aid of influential friends, smuggled him on a foggy night over the near-by Austrian frontier to Innsbruck, and he was patched up in the hospital there.

As the Party dissolved after the abortive November *putsch* and Hitler and Hess were condemned to imprisonment at Landsberg, it seemed to Goering better to keep away from Germany for the time being. He stayed in Austria at first, then went on to Italy to test the feeling of Mussolini's circle there, and finally retired to his wife's estate in Sweden. As he had relations with Air Marshal Balbo arising out of his flying activities he actually suc-

ceeded in making contact with the Italian Fascists and was even able, through Balbo, to acquaint Mussolini with Hitler's activities and the objects of the National Socialist Party in Germany. So were laid the foundations of an agreement which Goering took to Mussolini later on and which may be considered as the first attempt at the Rome-Berlin Axis. This agreement of Goering with the Italian Fascists also caused Hitler, in his book *Mein Kampf*, to let it appear, very expediently be it said, that Mussolini was his great prototype. Goering it was, too, who later on sought again and again, and finally with success, to influence Hitler towards a pact with Mussolini and Fascism.

The years 1924 to 1926 were, if possible, harder still for Goering than the immediate post-war years. In Sweden he had to sell his wife's jewellery, which formed a large part of their fortune, and ran himself into debt to cover the bare necessities of life for them both. On the day that he was seriously wounded before the Feldherrenhalle at Munich, his wife lay ill with inflammation of the lungs, but she nevertheless accompanied him in his flight to Innsbruck, and never fully recovered from her lung affection afterwards. At that time Goering had given up hope of victory for National Socialism. Suddenly and unexpectedly, at the end of 1926 an amnesty for all political offenders was declared, and a few days later Goering was back in Munich, without his wife, however, whom he had left behind for reasons of economy. He immediately revived his connection with Hitler, and after his three years of enforced idleness flung himself into the new struggle with brutal energy. At this point, because he once more had a political object, the after-effects of his addiction to morphia were definitely overcome. It is yet another proof of the extraordinary energy of the man that he could be completely cured of this craving.

Goering's first meeting with Hitler after his return to

Germany was a bitter disappointment for the ex-captain. Although Hitler was then living really sumptuously in Wachenfeld House near Munich, he did not show himself in any way ready to help Goering out of his material difficulties. Goering willy-nilly had to find a livelihood, and promptly formed his first financial connections with the German aircraft industry, namely Aircraft Motors, Heinkel, and the Bavarian Motor Works. Rumour has it that Goering promised the aircraft and motor industry that when the National Socialists came into power he would make it his chief business to push air rearmament. It is within the bounds of probability that this industry took the trouble to guarantee Goering equivalent financial advantages in the hopes of the ultimate fulfilment of this promise. There is no authentic information about this, but it is definite enough that later on Goering remained in constant touch with these and other similar firms and that after 1933 he did in fact amply redeem these supposed promises.

In spite of the disappointment he had experienced with Hitler, his activity on behalf of the Party did not lessen in any way. In the course of the next two years he took over the S.A. again, did organising work, spoke at meetings, took a zealous part in public-house scraps (*Saalschlachten*) and any other kind of fighting.

Then in 1928 came Goering's first great chance. In the Reichstag elections of that year twelve members of the German Workers' Party were elected. They were called 'Hitler's Twelve Apostles' in ridicule, and Goering was one of them. He was a member of the legislative body, but only seldom made himself audible in the Reichstag and sat in the last row of the Deputies. Four years later, however, he was President of the Reichstag. His second speech there (14th of June, 1929) was devoted to his favourite theme—air rearmament. He was most eloquent in

favour of setting up a State Secretariat for Air Travel, and it was clear that he intended to claim the post himself. But his motion was rejected, and the air budget was even curtailed. Now followed a period when Hitler and Goering were absorbed in feeling their way to the big industrialists and financiers in order to gain financial support for the movement and new stimulus for its propaganda. German high finance had not yet recognised the anti-Capitalistic element in Hitler's movement and saw National Socialism as the best counterpoise to the Socialists and Communists. It was lavish with its money, and, as a consequence, in the 1930 elections no less than 107 National Socialists entered the Reichstag instead of twelve as previously. Goering became simultaneously representative section-leader and Hitler's political deputy. With the assistance of money from the German heavy industries, the newspaper magnate Hugenberg, and the banker Schröder, National Socialism had become a force to be reckoned with. In May, 1931, thanks to his connection with Balbo, Goering managed to get an invitation to Rome to see Mussolini. He went there as a petitioner, for, with Mussolini's support, he had hopes of achieving further success for the Party. But at that time Hitler's influence seemed too small in Mussolini's eyes; and he was irritated, too, by the obvious imitation of his own methods by Hitler and Goering.

On the 10th of October, 1931, Goering was at his wife's bedside in Stockholm, for Karin Goering had suffered a fatal recrudescence of her old trouble after the death of her mother. There a telegram from Hitler reached him. President von Hindenburg after long consideration had assented to an interview with the 'Bohemian Corporal'. Hitler thought that an ex-flying-captain with the *Pour le mérite* decoration would be the best person to accompany him on this important visit. Goering immediately left his wife on her deathbed, and in company with Hitler made

his first visit to Hindenburg, a very unsatisfactory and disappointing one be it mentioned. Within a few hours he received the news of his wife's death. A year or two later he erected, on his estate at Schorfheide, 'Karinhall', a stately monument to her memory, in which he ostentatiously paid his devotions. After the accession to power in 1933 Karin Goering's remains were removed from Sweden to 'Karinhall' and Hitler was present, as a matter of course, at her state burial. Three and a half years after her death, however, Goering had married again, this time an actress, Emmy Sonnemann.

Hindenburg had declined to take Hitler into the Government, but nevertheless the movement went actively on. The S.A. was indeed forbidden by Brüning in May, 1932, but as money from the industrial sources continued to flow lavishly, the National Socialists by their enormous propaganda were able to win no less than 230 seats in the Reichstag in the election of the 31st of July, 1932. They thereby became the strongest Party, and the veering of the weathercock in the Reich is best indicated by that remarkable session of the Reichstag on the 30th of August, 1932. According to German law the senior member, reckoning by years, had to take the chair until the election of a new Reichstag President, and at that time Klara Zetkin, who was over eighty, a Communist Deputy, had to conduct the voting. Goering was elected to the presidency; clad in the uniform of the S.A. adorned with all his decorations, he thrust her from the President's chair, and quickly let it be seen in his very first speech that he was not of a mind to exercise his office apathetically. From the very day on which he took over the presidency, Goering was primarily the leader and interested representative of his Party and only secondarily President of the Reichstag.

They now enjoyed considerable success, but a fresh rejection of Hitler by Hindenburg, sharp conflict between

Hitler and his subordinate Strasser, constant major quarrels between the Party leaders and the S.A. were contributory causes to a heavy loss of votes at the next election and a serious setback for the Party. Goering had hoped, by the calling of another election for the 6th of November, 1932, to secure a complete majority in the Reichstag, and so compel Hindenburg to include Hitler in the Government. But just the opposite happened. The National Socialists lost three million votes and thirty-three Deputy mandates. The Party was in debt to the tune of twelve million marks, and high finance, shocked by Goering's conduct in office—he took sides in the most blatant fashion—refused any further credit.

It would take too long to describe the political events between November, 1932, and February, 1933; they have, moreover, often been related. Let it suffice to allude to the fact that Goebbels himself had already expressed hopes of a final victory in issues of his daily papers at the end of 1932. To help matters there happened one of those bizarre occurrences in politics, to wit, conflict between ex-Reichschancellor von Papen and the new Reichschancellor General von Schleicher. With the help of the National Socialists von Papen wished to seize afresh the reins of power in Germany. He used his great personal influence on Hindenburg to persuade him to appoint Hitler nominal Chancellor while he, von Papen, as effective Vice-Chancellor, was to exercise all power in the State. Hindenburg, an old man of eighty-four by that time, agreed to this plan, particularly as the news was spread abroad that von Schleicher was preparing a military *putsch*.

Thus von Papen helped Hitler into the saddle just at the moment when people believed that the star of National Socialism was on the wane.

Von Papen's reckoning was right in so far as he believed that Hitler alone would not be in a position fundamentally

to alter the destiny of Germany after his call to the Chancellorship of the Reich on the 30th of January, 1933.

But von Papen had underestimated one man. Hitler included Goering in his Cabinet as Minister without Portfolio.

Only now did Goering show his true nature as repudiator of equality and justice and the unqualified apostle of savage and biased Party power-politics.

Two decrees which Goering promulgated in the first few weeks after he had, in his capacity as Minister without Portfolio, taken over the police and founded the Secret State Police (Gestapo), show more clearly than any explanations the spirit by which Goering let himself be led. When he had prevailed upon Hindenburg to grant special powers to the police, Goering added in a decree:

‘In applying the regulations the motive and aims of the offenders are to be taken into account as much as possible. The decree is not designed to impede the popular elements who are behind the Government of national concentration in their welcome work of co-operating in promoting the higher aims of the Reich Government.’

A second decree, which followed after a short interval, was still less unequivocal, for he quite bluntly called upon the police to murder the opponents of National Socialism. The notorious decree of Goering’s, which has often been quoted, contains among other things this manifesto:

‘I do not think it necessary to point out that the police must in all circumstances avoid even the appearance of a hostile attitude towards, or even the impression of any persecution of, the national associations and Parties. I expect rather from all the police authorities that they will create and maintain the best understanding with the

above-mentioned organisations, in the ranks of which the most important forces of political reconstruction are to be found. Moreover, every kind of activity for national purposes and national propaganda is to be thoroughly supported. On the other hand, the activities of organisations hostile to the State are to be checked by the strongest measures. With Communist terrorism and raids there must be no trifling, and, when necessary, revolvers must be used without regard to the consequences. Police officers who fire their revolvers in the execution of their duty will be protected by me without regard to the consequences of using their weapons. But officers who fail, out of mistaken regard for consequences, must expect disciplinary action to be taken against them. The protection of the national populace, who are continually cramped in their activities, demands the strict application of the legal regulations governing prohibited demonstrations, prohibited meetings, plunderings, incitements to high treason, mass strikes, revolts, press offences, and all other punishable offences of the disturbers of law and order. No officer should lose sight of the fact that failure to adopt a measure is more heinous than the making of mistakes in its application. I hope and expect that all officers will feel at one with me in our common purpose of saving the Fatherland from threatened calamity by the strengthening and consolidation of all our national forces.'

The world, especially England and the United States, reacted to this decree with an outburst of horror, for they saw implicit in it a stark incitement to the murder of dissenters from the régime. Goering had the face not only to allow this charge but also to add, in a speech at Dortmund, the following words, which were intended to lay bare to the world his biased Party spirit:

'In the future there will be only one man who will wield power and bear responsibility in Prussia—that is

myself. Whoever does his duty in the service of the State, who obeys my orders and ruthlessly makes use of his revolver when attacked, is assured of my protection. Whoever, on the other hand, plays the coward, will have to reckon on being thrown out by me at the earliest possible moment. A bullet fired from the barrel of a police pistol is my bullet. If you say that is murder, then I am a murderer. I know only two sorts of law because I know only two sorts of men: those who are with us and those who are against us.'

The biography of Hermann Goering by Martin H. Sommerfeldt expresses briefly his chief trait thus: 'In a short time Germany will know that Goering has not taken over the office of Prussian Minister of the Interior to practise "justice" but for the purpose of policy: and that policy is unmistakably Prusso-German, completely national.' Elsewhere in the book the 'laughable objectivity' of the German people, which from now on is at an end, is held up to ridicule. And it is true.

From the day that Goering had seized power in Prussia and soon afterwards in the whole of Germany by the most viciously forcible means any objectivity in the Reich was over. Into ascendancy instead came the brutal subjectivity of a Party for which a human being began and ended with a membership number in the Party register.

The Minister of the Interior for Prussia, a post which Goering held among others, controls the police. Here the rooting out of the 'laughable objectivity' had its origin. Within a few days no less than twenty-two of the thirty-two leading police officials were dismissed and replaced by hulking S.A. officers. Hundreds of police officers and thousands of policemen were shown the door, their places being taken by Party men. At Goering's express command every opposition meeting was set upon and broken up, not only by the S.A. but also by the new 'police'. The Gestapo

was formed to take thousands of opponents into 'custody' and later to concentration camps; Social Democrats and Communists were shot in broad daylight, and Jewish business houses plundered before the very eyes of the police.

On the 27th of February, 1933, six days before the elections which were intended to give the National Socialists an absolute majority in the Reichstag, the Reichstag building went up in flames. Goering's rôle in this affair will, in all probability, never be clearly known, and it must suffice to say that this conflagration afforded a lever for a most bitter persecution of the Parties of the Left, and for silencing them and branding them as enemies of the State.

The laws and rights pertaining to the individual in the State were practically suspended. On the 4th of March, 1933, Goering made a speech in Frankfurt-on-Main in which, among other matters, he said :

'My measures are not to be vitiated by legal considerations. You must all become accustomed to the idea that I am not in office to dispense justice but to destroy and exterminate.'

Following immediately on the reorganisation of the Police Force, the civil administration in Prussia was next completely delivered into the hands of the Party. By the 1st of April, 1933, administration in Hanover, Kurmark, and Schleswig-Holstein was taken over by trusted Party men. Of the Prussian Landräte, totalling 361, 260 were deprived of their positions and replaced by National Socialists. Three hundred and sixty-six officials of the Prussian executive, that is to say exactly three-quarters of the total 488, were dismissed and in their stead came new men selected by Goering personally: no less than 340 were members of the Party. The same fate befell the judges and public prosecutors, and all other classes of officials in the civil service, right down to the purely local authorities,

Thus one side of Goering's activities consisted in the nullification of justice and impartiality.

Another side was, from the first moment, devoted un-deviatingly to his old favourite, air armaments. Only a short while after his appointment as Minister of the Interior for Prussia, Goering became Secretary of State for Aviation. He straightway created a few so-called non-military aeronautical organisations, such as the Association of German Aviation Sports (at the head of which was placed Loerzer, his war-time comrade), the German Aero-club was improved and extended, and a whole string of flying clubs and sail-planing schools were set up. All these organisations had the exclusive object of becoming cells for the building up of a German air-fleet; the construction of new aeroplanes was immediately pushed on, and a host of pilots were trained for war purposes.

Goering's activities have yet a third side which must be mentioned. This originates in one of his most conspicuous traits, namely vanity, and consists in the collecting of as many posts and offices as may be accompanied by the display of resplendent uniforms. Gradually Goering has united the following functions in his person :

Prime Minister of Prussia
Commandant of the Prussian Police
Head of the State Secret Police
President of the Reichstag
Air Minister
Commander-in-Chief of the German Air Force
Chief Forester of the Reich
Reich-Commissioner for the Four-Year Plan
Field-Marshal.

Besides these, however, he embodies some twenty more special offices connected with the Party, political organisations, hunting associations, fire-fighting services, and sport-

ing clubs, etc. These give him the opportunity to appear in some new and fantastic uniform, to bring his decorations out for an airing, and to show his weighty personality in a proper light.

Goering has always been untiring in his work and organisation. His vitality is indescribably great, his powers of oratory are undisputed, and he knows how to bring the people to his side by angry humour and a certain *bonhomie*. Apart from Hitler, he is certainly the most popular figure in the Third Reich, and in many sections of the Party is as much loved as his opposite number Goebbels is hated.

Goering was later on the intermediary who was to bring about the Rome-Berlin Axis. As early as the 11th of February, 1933, he flew to Rome, piloting his own machine, to pay a visit to Mussolini. On his arrival in Rome he was greeted by a telegram from Hitler addressed to 'Prime Minister Hermann Goering' which contained news of his promotion from Minister of the Interior to the Premiership of Prussia. Nine days later he was back in Berlin, where he got together a new Ministry composed almost exclusively of National Socialists. On the 3rd of May the Ministry of Aviation was formed and Goering took this over as a matter of course.

To be sure he did not play so glorious a part when he faced the cross-questioning of the accused in the legal proceedings regarding the origin of the Reichstag fire. But the defeat that he suffered at the hands of Dimitrov in no wise harmed his energy or his prestige. The leading circles knew just what was to be expected of him, and his lack of impartiality and contempt of law and justice were no disadvantage but rather an advantage to the rulers of New Germany.

Goering's pet idea, which he has presented to the whole world, namely the creation of an overpowering air-fleet,



GOERING IN CONVERSATION WITH THE POLISH PRESIDENT MOSCICKI
DURING A HUNTING EXPEDITION IN POLAND, FEBRUARY 1938.

was only officially made known generally in March, 1936. But the construction of his fleet was his most important task from the moment he came into power. Later it was admitted that the first German bombing squadron was already formed on the 1st of March, 1935.

Goering knew that for the establishment of an air-fleet that would outdo all others, industrial capacity was a primary pre-requisite. Poor plant, insufficiency of factories and lack of raw materials would have sensibly retarded the air armaments programme, and German rearmament generally to the same degree. Industry was at that time, and is now for that matter, Germany's most difficult child. A man was needed to organise industry in the same way that the Party and the air arm had been organised. Was it any wonder that Goering was called upon?

He had certainly a number of weighty qualifications for this important office :

1. He had once been registered for some months as a student of economics at Munich University (although he had never attended lectures or entered his name for the appropriate examinations).
2. He was energetic and ruthless.
3. He had coined the phrase, 'Guns are better than butter.'
4. He knew accurately the requirements of the Army and was therefore able forcefully to subordinate industry to a militaristic policy.

The methods of this plan for industry were borrowed from the Italian and Russian models; the name—the 'Four-Year Plan'—came direct from Russia. The object, which squared perfectly with the Party's home policy, was to subordinate to the Party all banks, industrial concerns, foreign trading organisations, finance and note-issuing

houses. For this reason Goering became Commissioner for the Four-Year Plan, and the Plan itself was introduced to the world at the Nuremberg Party Congress of 1936. Goering in this way received substantially wider powers than ever before. For by the proclamation of the 18th of October, 1936, in the law relating to the 'Four-Year Plan' it was laid down that :

'Minister President Lieutenant-General Hermann Goering is appointed to take the necessary steps for the fulfilment of his task, and is entitled to issue decrees for the whole Reich. He is also entitled to direct and command all authorities, inclusive of the highest officials in the Reich, the organs of the Party, and the affiliated associations.'

Three years have passed since the publication of the 'Four-Year Plan'. It cannot be affirmed that German industry, producing without intermission would have succeeded in covering German economic requirements. Even Goering's brute force, making use of the old methods of terror and the whip, such as had already been employed on the human element, has not been successful in making Industry subservient to the Party. But it has succeeded, and only too well, in destroying economic freedom in the Reich and in making industry and finance, the Reichsbank and trade, subordinate to the Government. Goering's Four-Year Plan has created State Socialism in Germany, and a State Socialism resembling that of Moscow in more than one respect. The big industrial chiefs are now very sorry that they hoisted Dictator Goering into the saddle when he wished it, for to-day he is the unrestrained master of all German trades. The first three years of the Four-Year Plan have fulfilled one part of his task, that is the expropriation of private property and private industry, to a certain extent. The other part, which aimed at making German

industry entirely independent of foreign industry by the production of substitute materials, has to a large extent failed, and here too the organising genius and heavy fist of 'our Hermann', as he is popularly called, have not been able to prevail. Goering's appointment in this sphere has moreover driven away a man who might have been of value as a proper organiser and leader of German industry. That man is Hjalmar Schacht. Conflict with Goering caused Schacht to retire first from his position as Minister of Industry and then later from the management of the Reichsbank. This loss will in the long run probably hit German industry far harder than the activities of Goering can ever benefit it.

In 1936 and 1937 Goering visited one German trade after another with great pomp and ceremony, and the new Reichswerke were named after him—yet in spite of all this air armament still remained his chief object. German industry as a whole was increasingly placed at the service of rearmament and more consciously so too: and here again the construction of an air-fleet played the leading part.

This is Goering's work and his alone.

The Soviet had given a passing recognition to the importance of aviation in the event of war; France and Italy had, immediately after the World War, sought to keep military aviation on a technical level with the other arms. But it is Hermann Goering, ex-flying-captain, who must be regarded as the creator of the air war of the future. In the Third Reich he may pass as the man with the mailed fist, as the author of the Four-Years' Plan; his name may be linked with the Reichstag fire and the obliteration of justice and right in Germany; he will be looked upon by the world as the man who was the prophet of war behind the lines, a war on women and children, and as the father of a new phase in war methods. Austria and Czechoslovakia have

already been rendered ductile by the threatened destruction of their cities: in China and Spain Goering's methods have been practised with great success. And if to-day all over the world air armaments are assuming even greater dimensions, if the factories daily spew forth their progeny of ever larger, ever faster, ever more devastating bombers, then it is Goering who has fabricated this intoxicating competition. In this lies his intrinsic importance.

His personality is too mercurial for one to foresee the part he is likely to be called upon to play in the political life of Germany and perhaps in world politics. Energetic and tireless, brutal and cynical, repellent and attractive, he has at all events captured quite a special place for himself in world history and closely linked with it—for such is the irony of history—is this trifling event: that on an autumn evening in 1914 an unknown lieutenant, Loerzer by name, invited him to become a war-pilot.

THE SECOND APOSTLE

*Dr. Josef Goebbels,
the Virtuoso of Lying Propaganda*

ON THE 30TH OF JUNE, 1933, a 'decree erecting a Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda under Dr. Goebbels' was issued by Hitler. This decree stated that 'The Reich Minister of National Enlightenment and Propaganda is in control of all questions connected with the exercise of an intellectual and moral influence upon the nation, propaganda in the interest of the State, of culture and of the national economy, the instruction of public opinion at home and abroad concerning the same, and the administration of all organisations designed to serve these ends.'

Dr. Goebbels, the first Propaganda Minister in the world, accordingly received unlimited powers over

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Radio | Exhibitions |
| The Press | Celebration arrangements |
| Films | Party congresses |
| The theatre | Educative literature |
| Writing | Advertising |
| The plastic arts | Lectures |
| Foreign intercourse | |

In addition, all subsidies and grants of assistance for influencing the foreign Press, for foreign publications and for the construction of propaganda organisations abroad, were made over to Dr. Goebbels. He had the task of receiving foreign visitors to Germany and influencing them in favour of the Third Reich. Finally, bound up with his Ministry,

was also the task of preserving the German people from injurious influences and information from abroad.

Germany, it is true, publishes no budget of her expenditure. Nevertheless it is well known that Dr. Goebbels in the period from 1933 to 1937 received subsidies and bribes amounting to twenty million pounds sterling every year. For the years 1938 and 1939 there are again no accurate estimates available, yet in those two years the propaganda fund of Dr. Goebbels must have been substantially larger than in previous years. During the first seven years of the National Socialist régime foreign money resources for important raw materials became continually more restricted, yet payments for foreign propaganda increased from year to year and the sums in foreign currency which Dr. Goebbels wanted for these objects were at his disposal without limitation.

When in 1921 Hitler became the unconditional leader of the National Socialist Party, to those outside it he passed at first merely as the 'great drummer'. His strength lay in his grasp of the psychology of the masses and the production of any desired effect by propaganda and preparation. The great successes of his first years of activity are chiefly to be attributed to his proper grasp and estimation of this propaganda element, which overthrew everything and kept the people on the alert. With him originated the notorious saying that lies are a useful weapon of war if only they are employed in a proper way to work on the masses. He explained in *Mein Kampf* that lies frequently used and repeatedly driven home cause listeners to believe that they are true. Hitler, therefore, is a regular artist at propaganda by lies. But Dr. Josef Goebbels, 'the malicious dwarf' as many of his Party comrades call him, considerably surpasses the Führer and can only be designated with full justice as a juggler with lies.

Dr. Goebbels has fashioned a philosophy for himself. He

has said to himself that a lie may only be recognised as such when one's opponent has the opportunity to expound the truth. If then one wishes a lie to pass as fact, one's opponent must either be gagged or not allowed to get a word in. If this too does not succeed, then the constant repetition of the truth must be branded as a lie in order to assist one's own lie to victory.

In this philosophy lies the secret of the home policy and also the foreign policy of National Socialism. The whole structure stands on feet of clay, and is built up of falsehood and propaganda which are drummed out as the truth. Whenever, therefore, Hitler in his declarations lies, and lies consciously, and Goebbels does the same in his propaganda, one should not take this falsehood of the Führer's amiss, as in the case of any other statesman who chanced to offend against good faith. Hitler merely remains true to his loftier task: he serves another National Socialist idea, that lie glorified by himself, and is at best disgusted that a narrow-minded world will not believe, as his own subjects do, that this lie is the truth.

Dr. Goebbels was forced to work out this philosophy for himself. For his own person, within the limits of his activities, is the lie become flesh. He is small, ugly and deformed, dark and obviously not an Aryan type: yet daily and even hourly he preaches the principle of the great, blond, handsome Aryan-German 'lordly race', a race which is to be allowed to seize the dominion of the world.

In 1933 Goebbels was in Geneva at a session of the League of Nations, where he was making his first appearance as Germany's official representative. A local paper published a caricature showing an ugly, deformed, dark-haired little figure of a man, and below were the words, "And who may this man be? Why, to be sure it is the representative of the well-built, healthy, blond and blue-eyed Nordic race!"

Dr. Goebbels is much too clever not to have realised the falsehood implicit in his appearance and person in relation to his position. No other means of self-assertion was left to him, he had to make falsehood the mainspring of his activities, and thus every act of National Socialism also moves to the music of this theory.

Dr. Goebbels could never shine in *Saalschlachten*, he cannot mark his man in the front line, nor stem the enemy by main force. His capabilities are other than these: he works at his desk, and his disembodied voice speaks from the microphone, speaks as though he too were handsome, straight and blue-eyed. For in such activities he is invisible to the masses and therefore, as a preliminary at least, he can feign all that in actuality he is not. In consequence of his external deficiencies he naturally endeavours to outdo others: he has to find better arguments, strike a sharper note, and persuade by his intellect and wit, as a substitute for surface fascination.

He is blessed with a superabundance of this intellect and wit. In his particular sphere he might be called frankly a genius. If Rosenberg is a theorist and to a certain extent a visionary, Dr. Goebbels, by contrast, possesses a mind that is keen, practical and sober, able to cope, with lightning rapidity, with any situation, unconquerable and never at a loss. His capabilities are many, and he is so mentally versatile that it is almost impossible to do him justice. Added to this his capacity for work is enormous, his energy inexhaustible, and he has an iron will—astonishing factors when one considers his weakly and almost frail body.

Dr. Goebbels is one of the few who kept a diary in those decisive months before the seizure of power. He was once called to account legally for a deed of violence, and the entry in his diary for the 22nd of January, 1932, contains the following striking passage, which clearly gives the key

to his mentality and his tactics: 'I shall proceed according to my old and tried principle—to attack before the enemy has any chance to pull himself together, force him on to the defensive, and then belabour him until he becomes compliant.'

In 1929, in an article in the *Angriff* he wrote: 'To hurl the spear deliberately and with forethought, to drive it truly aimed into the chinks of the enemy's armour, and then, perchance, to say with a friendly smile, "Pardon me, neighbour, but I simply must." It is that *lex talionis*, that is so coldly enjoyed.'

Propaganda has three lines: the first, falsehood; the second, the revelation of the opponent's weaknesses; the third, driving home with repetition.

By these means Goebbels always gets his results in Germany. For since 1933 the German people have been neither allowed nor been able to hear any other voice.

Dr. Paul Josef Goebbels joined the Party as a young man of twenty-five. He was born on the 29th of October, 1897, at Rheydt, in the Rhineland. His father was first a foreman and then a manager; his mother came of a family of smiths. In contrast with most other members of the N.S.D.A.P., Dr. Goebbels is a Catholic; his parents saw that he was educated in a religious school. It was taken for granted that this boy, with a deformed foot and a weakly constitution, would be most adapted to a religious calling. Since he could not take a man's job in the factory or smithy, and had besides a useful brain, he was sent to High School and then to the University. During the war he had the opportunity of visiting the universities, which were then very short of students, one after the other. He did not, however, study theology, but interested himself in history, the history of art and literature, and philology. He sometimes changed his university for a term, and so became acquainted with the seats of learning at Bonn, Freiburg,

Würzburg, Munich, Heidelberg, Cologne, and Berlin, finally obtaining his Doctorate of Philosophy at Heidelberg.

Immediately after the termination of his studies, he tried his hand at journalism. His enemies declare that his first attempts were for Liberal and ordinary papers. He is said to have offered gossip items to the *Berliner Tageblatt*. Nothing of his was, however, published. It is certain that in his youth he was by no means anti-Semitically inclined and often even had dealings with the Jews. It was only in 1922 and 1923 that he effected his transition to Right radicalism. Like Himmler, Goebbels is not a direct adherent of Hitler but came into the Party through Gregor Strasser. Strasser was early observant of this very versatile and capable young man and appointed him at first as his private secretary. Because of Strasser, Goebbels belonged to the Left-inclined section of the Party. He declared for co-operation with the Bolsheviks, broke a lance for the workers, and was averse to any approaches to the large industrialists.

With Gregor Strasser's help, Goebbels sought to be active on behalf of National Socialism in the Ruhr and the Rhineland, but without at first recognising Hitler's leadership. In Elberfeld he founded a small newspaper, *Völkische Freiheit* (National Freedom), which, however, had little influence, and was looked upon askance by the French Occupation authorities. In 1925 Gregor Strasser, in company with Goebbels, set about creating, under cover, a secret news organ for Party members. This was the *Nationalsozialistischen Briefe* (National Socialist Letters), and the intention was to bring the whole Party under the intellectual influence of Goebbels and Strasser. The attacks made by the paper on Streicher and Feder, who were then Hitler's closest advisers, were particularly vehement. Indirectly this organ attacked Hitler too. Strasser even con-



GOEBBELS SURROUNDED BY HIS DETECTIVES.

vened a North German Party congress at Hanover and excluded Hitler, but he could not stop Hitler sending Amann and Feder as his trusted deputies. At first Goebbels would not admit Feder, whom he declared to be an idiot, but Amann succeeded in obtaining permission for Feder to stay. This congress endeavoured to demonstrate that Hitler must be freed from his harmful associates, and at the same time a new Party programme was worked out in opposition to Rosenberg's. When Amann returned to Munich his report was crushing. He called Goebbels the 'Mephisto of the Party', and demanded from Hitler his exclusion from it. But the Führer had already recognised Goebbels' gifts, and aimed at separating him from Strasser and winning him over to his own side.

The opportunity soon offered itself. At the beginning of 1926 the Social Democrats in Germany had proposed a national ballot, by means of which the dethroned German princes were to be denied compensation for the sequestration of their property. Hitler scented the chance of making himself 'hail fellow' with the financial and big business leaders. He opposed the Social Democrats and favoured the princes with all his energy, while Strasser and Goebbels issued an appeal in support of Social Democracy against the princes. In February, 1926, at a leaders' meeting in Bamberg, which was almost entirely composed of Hitler's supporters, Comrades Strasser and Goebbels were called sharply to account. The Party vote was almost entirely against Strasser. Goebbels, who by now had realised that Hitler was the stronger man, joined the latter's ranks, to the great surprise of everyone. In consequence he had to suffer the reproach of a friend of Hitler's, that he had committed an unheard-of treachery by the desertion of his friends; but he had done Hitler a great service, and practically demolished the Strasser fronde. Hitler immediately showed his recognition of this change of front, and

in 1926 appointed Goebbels 'Gauleiter of Berlin'. Goebbels, of course, had first to bind himself to renounce his Socialist leanings and to abjure once for all his struggles for a league with the Soviet. The post of Gauleiter of Berlin was sufficiently important for Goebbels. Never since then (until August, 1939, when this attitude was officially sanctioned by Hitler) has he again broken a lance for the Soviet.

In Berlin Goebbels proved himself an excellent agitator and organiser. He quickly built up a powerful defence squad in the capital but remained at heart a man of the pen. In 1927 he had already founded a Berlin weekly *Der Angriff* (Attack). This was intended not only to be the fighting paper of the Party but also to counter Rosenberg's influence in the *Völkischer Beobachter*, which appeared in Munich. *Der Angriff* was carried on in a very keen and lively way and was much read by opponents. In 1929 it became a bi-weekly, and in 1930 a daily. Goebbels' propaganda methods in his paper impressed even Hitler, who previously had only been accustomed to the more didactic method of Rosenberg in the *Völkischer Beobachter*. In the autumn of 1929 when, thanks to the help of the heavy industries, the movement had larger funds at its disposal, Hitler was able to withdraw from a few of his previous functions. Among these was the Department of Propaganda, very important to him, which he relinquished in favour of Goebbels, whom he appointed Reich Propaganda leader of the N.S.D.A.P.

Goebbels, as has been suggested above, is one of the most industrious workers in the Party. At present he is Gauleiter of Berlin, Reichstag Deputy (since 1928), town councillor (since 1929), editor of *Der Angriff*, and Reich Propaganda Leader, and he is also a writer. Of his two plays, *Blutsaat* and *Der Wanderer*, we had better not speak. But his political writings have, for the most part, real efficacy, be-

cause they are not only vivid but also original and wittily written. The best-known of his books are *Der unbekannte S.A. Mann* (the Unknown S.A. Man); *Michael*; *Isidor*; *Knorke, a Second Isidor Book*, and *Battle for Berlin*. The most interesting and informative *Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei* (From the Kaiserhof to the Reichschancellery), Goebbels' diary, embraces the period from the beginning of 1932 to the middle of 1933. Besides these a whole sheaf of other writings have appeared.

From one section of these writings, which are mostly collections of his newspaper articles, the manner and tendency of his propaganda appears in comprehensible clarity. This applies particularly to *Isidor* and *Knorke, a Second Isidor Book*. *Isidor* is the name which Dr. Goebbels in *Der Angriff* wrongly applied to Dr. Bernhard Weiss, the chief of the Berlin police at that time. To start with he asserted that Dr. Weiss's Christian name was not Bernhard but Isidor. Although he was forced, by legal action, to rectify the assertion he was not to be moved from using this intentionally falsified name, for having once put forward a lie he would let nothing dissuade him from it. Since he could not now write again of Dr. Weiss personally under this name, he simply shifted it to the system, and generalised on the substructure of the untruth his frequently excessively violent attacks on Dr. Weiss. When Dr. Goebbels was informed by a friend that Dr. Weiss was quite a respectable and capable man, he replied, without turning a hair, that he was well aware of the fact. He was not striking at the man at all, but at his system.

The methods which Goebbels (and Goering) have employed as propaganda for a definite idea and how the bare facts may be twisted, is indicated very clearly by the description of a campaign launched by Goebbels in the German press on the 23rd of June, 1933, immediately prior to the establishment of the Ministry of Propaganda. In

all the morning papers of the 24th of June, 1933, appeared, word for word, this news in enormous type :

RED PLAGUE OVER BERLIN

FOREIGN PLANES OF AN UNKNOWN TYPE—
ESCAPED UNRECOGNISED, DEFENCELESS
GERMANY

TO-MORROW IT MIGHT BE GAS OR
INCENDIARY BOMBS

BERLIN, 23rd June, 1933.

This afternoon foreign aeroplanes of a type unknown in Germany appeared over Berlin, and dropped leaflets containing insults to the Reich Government, in the Government quarter, and in the eastern districts. As the Air Police, which was immediately informed, had no machines of its own, and the sport planes stationed in the aerodrome did not equal the speed of the foreign planes, the latter were able to escape unrecognised.

This incident throws a glaring light on the intolerable position in which Germany finds itself at present. Aeroplanes of a type which have not been seen in Germany up to now, can appear unhindered over the Government buildings, and drop their leaflets containing unheard of insults to the German Reich. To-day it is leaflets, to-morrow it may be gas or incendiary bombs, which mean death and destruction.

The German public rightly asks 'What is our Air Police for?' Is it not the most natural thing to assume that the Air Police would be in a position to interfere at once and prevent the foreign attackers' criminal activities? Far from it. Germany possesses an Air Police, it is true, but that body is only called by this name because of its functions as supervisor of the aerodromes. Germany does not possess one single police aeroplane. And why not? Because the dictates of enemy powers condemn Germany to impotence against violation of her air territory. Every bird is allowed to defend itself if its nest is attacked. Only Germany has to

look on, with her wings clipped and her claws blunted, while her nest is being defiled and may soon be destroyed.

The German people ask for protection against moral poisoning, which may be followed up to-morrow by material destruction. The German people demand from the Government, aware of its responsibilities, immediate measures to remedy the state of defencelessness in the air, which has now become unbearable. We ask the Air Ministry—which has certainly achieved a great deal in the sphere of aviation in collaboration with other peoples: 'What does the Air Ministry intend to do against things of this type? *Videant consules!*'

This news had to appear, word for word, in large type on the front page of all German papers. It could not therefore have been the communication of a disgusted citizen, but was merely an official *communiqué* of Dr. Goebbels, Propaganda Chief, addressed to Goering, Air Minister.

Copious and very searching investigations, which were immediately made by all the official foreign representatives in Germany, confirmed beyond all doubt:

1. That no foreign aeroplanes of any description had been sent over Germany.
2. That the foreign authorities had not seen these aeroplanes nor the leaflets which they were supposed to have dropped in the streets.
3. And that, in addition, no 'aeroplanes of an unknown type' had been sighted anywhere else besides Berlin.

If, therefore, aeroplanes of an 'unknown type' were supposed to have dropped leaflets over Berlin, although it was impossible to confirm this, then they must have been aeroplanes given the job by the German Government itself. Moreover, neither previously nor afterwards, until the outbreak of war, have hostile aircraft been sighted over Berlin, nor has any attempt been made to hurl down propaganda against the Reich, nor any gas or incendiary bombs.

Nevertheless, this manifest falsehood, accorded its due publicity, was followed by the German Government taking its first steps towards being granted the so-called 'police planes'. They were to form a preliminary basis for the German Air Force. Curiously enough, these aeroplanes were conceded them—and the order was given to English factories.

Dr. Goebbels' lying propaganda in this case, as in many another, produced its full effect, for the untruth had been uttered with such an air of conviction that all immediate rectifications, refutations, or counter-explanations, which naturally remained unpublished by the Press, were unable to produce any effect.

It is known that since the Ministry of Propaganda was taken over by Dr. Goebbels in the summer of 1933 the German Press has been completely controlled, and radio, cinema, theatre, and the literary world must work on formulæ produced by Dr. Goebbels.

The first time the world received a foretaste of this sort of public propaganda for objects of foreign policy was in the summer of 1933, *à propos* the attempt to incorporate Austria in the Third Reich. An unparalleled orgy of abuse and provocation was poured out by the German newspapers on Austria and Dr. Dollfuss, its Chancellor: the German radio incessantly sent out from Munich advice to the Austrian National Socialists; the Austrian land-workers were provoked in their own speech. A real 'war in the ether' started between Germany and Austria, for Dr. Goebbels did not content himself with Press attacks and radio talks, but on his part sent aeroplanes over Austria, particularly over Salzburg, which every day dropped leaflets against Dollfuss and propaganda in favour of Germany. This war in the ether was only stopped after the collapse of that bloody National Socialist *putsch* in Austria on the 25th of July, 1934.

From the moment of the establishment of a Ministry of Propaganda the German propaganda machine has worked day and night in an inconceivable way. Press conferences daily inform the newspapers what is to be published, what must not appear, the kind of attitude to adopt regarding this or that event, and, moreover, on what page or in what column the individual news items are to be placed. Every detail is accurately laid down and the slightest offence against these rules is attended by the most stringent penalties. A German journalist, who had provided a foreign journalist with information from this conference of the home Press, was condemned to death.

The cynicism with which Dr. Goebbels, from one day to another, can accomplish a volte-face is a matter for astonishment. In the course of political events it has often happened that the German Press has attacked in unison and in the sharpest tone a supposed enemy; it has advanced accusations, poured out contempt; only to change its tune without warning the very next day to a hymn of praise. This has recently been confirmed, not only in the attitude towards England and France, but also in relation to Poland, the Soviet, South Africa, and numerous other States and statesmen.

For Dr. Goebbels, like Hitler, is of the opinion that any news is short-lived, and the memory of the masses does not count. The German citizen, who is hardly interested in newspapers any longer, must stoically put up with these changes of front just as he does with all the untruths, of which indeed he is seldom conscious. The low level at which Goebbels rates the intelligence of the German reader is noteworthy, for he is not afraid to serve up the same lies for a different purpose. Over the occupation of Austria, the impression was first created that the Austrian Government was no longer master of the situation, that the Communist elements had the power in their hands, and that

the supporters of National Socialism were being arrested, persecuted, tortured, and slaughtered.

The self-same method with the self-same words was repeated in 1938, in the September crisis, when the Sudetenland was scheduled for occupation. In March, 1939, came the same cry for help from Slovakia, which was followed by the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia. A few days later Germans in Memel were tortured and slaughtered, and they too had to be freed by German troops. And in August, 1939, the oppression of the Germans in Danzig and Poland made the National Socialists' blood boil. The Polish Government was now no longer master of the situation, Poland was threatening to attack Danzig—and Germany—the same allegation that had been directed against the Czechs a few months previously.

To Attack! Dr. Goebbels' propaganda has crystallised around this motto. Germany is always the attacked. It offers a good excuse for putting oneself on the defensive and justifies any deed of violence.

Goebbels caught this excuse of being 'attacked' from Hitler. The Führer, during the National Socialist period of struggle, perpetually had this word on his lips. He and his Party had constantly been attacked and threatened. If the National Socialists had slain an opponent in the streets they had been 'attacked'. If Hitler held meetings in the strongholds of Social Democracy 'for the overthrow of the Red Terror', and the Social Democrats showed signs of protest—well, the poor, blameless National Socialists had been attacked.

Hitler himself was perpetually 'threatened and attacked' by the Left parties, by the police, the Government, and personal enemies. When Röhm and with him several hundred other former National Socialist comrades were shot by Hitler and Goering, Goebbels announced that these friends of Hitler had attacked him and had intended

to overthrow him. So that, whether it was a question of internal or foreign aggression which had been prepared by Hitler, Goebbels' part in the preparation for action was always the fabrication of stories of 'oppression and attacks'.

Goebbels has not only taken over these methods of Hitler's. Whenever possible he endeavours to imitate him in other directions. He knows Hitler's insatiable appetite for flattery, and he flatters him on every possible occasion. To please Hitler he neither smokes nor drinks. He imitates Hitler in his speeches and quotes him whenever he can. Even that 'inner voice', which Hitler has it that he often hears, is heard by Goebbels too. Even as the Führer he allows himself to be led by 'inspirations', he repeatedly describes how he has been protected and saved from dangers by visions. He takes every available opportunity of fawningly soliciting Hitler's approval. In his articles and other writings he calls Hitler 'infallible', 'sublime', he praises the Führer's 'consequentiality of thought', his 'razor-keen logic', his foresight, his godhead. In a letter expressing his devotion to Hitler he once wrote :

'In Munich before the Law you became, in our eyes, the ultimate embodiment of a Führer. The words you then spoke are the greatest that have been spoken in Germany since Bismarck: they form the catechism of a new political faith amid the desperation of a collapsing and godless world. As every great leader, you grew with your task, became great as it became greater—became a miracle.'

However servile and toadying Goebbels may be to Hitler, he is brutal and coarse to subordinates. Even his own men complained from time to time of the pothouse language used by him during his Gauleitership in Berlin. It is known

that once he dealt a terrible box on the ear to a fairly important S.A. leader because the latter had knocked on the door and had not awaited Dr. Goebbels' 'Come in'. Numerous other similar stories are current about him. But in his own fashion he is much more deliberative and commanding than Hitler.

He is well educated and has an excellent brain, he commands in his own sphere with masterly technique, and he is untiring and talented. His mind is keen as steel, cold and calculating. His considerable wit is mostly satirical. He has a scintillating intellect, presence of mind, and is never embarrassed. He turns a deaf ear to insults and reproaches. As an example Goebbels once declared that he was beaten and badly mishandled by Belgians occupying the Rhineland, and Mossakowsky, one of his former Party comrades, openly gave him the lie, but he took no notice. Mossakowsky did not intend to let the matter rest there, and fourteen times in succession, in different newspapers, gave publicity to this 'crafty untruth'. Although Goebbels was invited by his friends to take legal action against Mossakowsky he would not think of it. For he knew well enough that a case heard in public, and the evidence of his insulter, would involve him in a much greater loss of prestige than if he quietly swallowed the gibe. Thus neither this remonstrance against his falsehood nor many others were ever contested by him. He relied on the fact that, in any case, after three days people forget what they have heard or read.

Many sections of the opposition have repeatedly charged Goebbels with being related to Jews. This accusation is practically unfounded, but it appears to be traceable to the fact that his wife, Magda, was the adopted daughter of a Jewish family, Friedländer by name. Konrad Heiden in his book *Hitler* alleges that Frau Friedländer, when she was once molested by S.A. men in a Jewish coffee-house,

threatened that she would complain to her son-in-law, Dr. Goebbels. Frau Magda Goebbels is, however, certainly of pure Aryan blood.

The following episode is also related by Heiden. Magda Goebbels is the divorced wife of Günther Quandt, the manufacturer. Goebbels as a Catholic wanted a religious ceremony, but according to canonical law such a marriage, involving a divorced person, is radically impossible. Only a dispensation, very difficult to obtain, can raise the ban. Goebbels, who at that time was not a Minister, wrote a letter to Dr. Schreiber, the Bishop of Berlin, couched in very few words, in which he said he intended to marry Magda Quandt who was divorced, and requested the Bishop to reply within three days stating whether he was prepared to give the union his official blessing. The Bishop, who could not comply with his demand, yet did not wish to be discourteous to an already powerful Party leader, diplomatically let the three days pass and then wrote making further inquiries. But he promptly received a reply to the effect that since Dr. Schreiber had let the allotted period elapse, he, Goebbels, would do without the Bishop's assistance. Even in his insolence towards the Catholic Church Goebbels copied the Führer's attitude.

Goebbels' imitation of Hitler goes a long way, but in one respect his nature does not allow it. Numberless rumours and reports of his *affaires de cœur* are in circulation. The best known is that he sought very keenly after the wife of the film actor, Fröhlich. In consequence he was so severely thrashed by Fröhlich and his friends that for days he had to go about with black eyes and numerous other visible injuries.

From time to time he has been relegated to the background by Hitler on account of some similar rumour, for, in spite of the rigorous censoring of newspapers, a few of these scandals have trickled through.

But these transitory differences between Hitler and Goebbels do not prevent the latter from being among the few frequent visitors to the Führer's estate at Obersalzberg, near Berchtesgaden. Goebbels and his wife and two children are regularly invited there, and it is no secret that Hitler prefers the company of Goebbels' family to that of Goering's.

Although Goebbels takes the trouble to ape Hitler and flatter him, with the other leaders he has little success. His relations with Goering have always been strained; he hates Rosenberg, despises Streicher, feels that Himmler is watching him too closely, and he fears von Schirach, whom he considers too popular with the young people.

As long as Hitler is in command Goebbels' influence will continue to increase. He seizes upon more and more fields of propaganda, and the outbreak of war has offered him a still better opportunity for interfering in public and private affairs. It is chiefly Goebbels who is behind the war reports, and not only these but also articles which are intended to mould the opinion of the public. He has put a ban on the reception by Germans of news bulletins from foreign stations, he prescribes their food and clothing, he is one of the chiefs of the spying organisation and he radios propaganda for the benefit of foreign countries. The less German subjects are inclined to believe him and his propaganda the more important and comprehensive become his activities.

Goebbels has his finger on the pulse of German life. His task is to prevent this time 'the stab in the back' which caused the collapse of the German Army in 1918. His life is bound up with the Public, he is answerable for public opinion and humour; every day, reduplicated a thousand-fold, his thoughts and his ideas as falsehood and coercion enter the receptive brain of every German citizen.

Yet this man is lonely, lonelier than any other man in

the Third Reich, for he is despised and hated, 'the Mephisto of the Party, an unsympathetic fellow, one marked by the Almighty with a club-foot, of whom one must beware'—so Amann described him to Hitler.

Over-clever, over-subtle, hard as steel, merciless, hard-working, calculating—but weighed up, despised and isolated: that is Goebbels.

THE THIRD APOSTLE

*Alfred Rosenberg,
the Heathen Proselyte*

WHY GREATER GERMANY is called the 'Third Reich' is not at all clear in Germany itself, much less abroad. Alfred Rosenberg, who named himself 'the Heathen Proselyte', the originator of National Socialist ideology, is also the author of this designation 'Third Reich'.

By way of amplification Rosenberg states that the first Reich (empire) was a Roman Reich of the German nation.

The second Reich, the Reich of the German emperors, was a Reich that only a giant's strength could preserve from smashing to atoms in its own internal disharmony; and it did break up once that political giant Bismarck had left the scene.

The Third Reich, however, is the announcement of a first truly German Reich as the firm objective of all the longings of the yet unfulfilled German being: as an organic State-form developing out of a racially separate national body, without interested rulers, or leaders of a representative assembly taking any part whatsoever.

As with Hitler, so with Rosenberg—his language must first be translated into everyday speech before it can be understood. This fact should not be a bar to the quotation of extracts from his fundamental works. By the very extravagance of this language it is possible to estimate the difficulty of grasping the basic tenets of National Socialism, for what is written about them appears only in this high-flown style. An attempt must first be made to render his

remarks regarding the Third Reich somewhat more intelligible. Rosenberg takes the point of view that, for all practical purposes, the period of the Republic in Germany must be eliminated. He only admits a Reich for monarchical times, which the First and Second Reich represent. The Third Reich encompasses all Germans in the whole world, and is the Reich of a People: it can only be completed and closed when all that is German is united within it.

So far as one may speak of an intellectual substructure, theory, or world point of view where National Socialism is concerned, Alfred Rosenberg is the originator of this substructure. He not only gave a name to the Third Reich, he is the author of the 'blood and honour' *leit-motiv*. In his *Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts*—a peculiar and in part grossly distorted philosophy, which, however, is the result of hard thinking—he has created the National Socialist Bible. He is the founder and chief editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the central organ of the N.S.D.A.P. He is the theorist of the Party, who has gathered together the confused ideas of Hitler and clarified them himself in such a way that Hitler now builds on Rosenberg's ideas and allows himself to be influenced by Rosenberg in all his decisions. Rosenberg is, in addition, a member of the Reich-management of the Party, and also the leader of the foreign policy department.

It is noteworthy that Rosenberg was born a Russian, or more correctly an *Auslandsdeutscher*, or Baltic German. He was born at Reval on the 12th of January, 1893. At that time this territory belonged to the Russian Empire of the Czars, but it is now the capital of Estonia, under the name of Tallinn. It is just the fact that he is an *Auslandsdeutscher* (as is similarly the case with Hess, and to a certain extent with Goering) that has influenced him strongly in

laying down the fundamentals of his programme. It is said in Germany that the Baltic Germans have a much more strict and self-conscious conception of *Deutschtum*, German blood and German honour, than the true Germans themselves. For always in their advance posts in the north-east they have had to defend themselves with their blood and their honour.

It cannot be said that Rosenberg belonged to the Baltic aristocracy, which is so proud of its elevated rank. He was, nevertheless, the son of a director of a German trading firm of Reval. He attended the *Oberrealschule* in this city, and when fifteen years of age Chamberlain's *Fundamentals of the Twentieth Century* came by chance into his hands, and its influence on the young Rosenberg has persisted to this day. This book formed in some important points not only a model for Rosenberg's own *Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* but was also the germ of the National Socialist doctrine of to-day. Indian mysticism was another influence which had its effect on Rosenberg at this time, but this was only half assimilated by the meditative young Baltic scholar. In 1910, after he had left the *Oberrealschule* and had devoted himself to the study of architecture and painting, he put himself on trial by giving lectures on Indian philosophy to the Rubonia Student Corps—he was their Senior. Again and again in his expositions he arrived at the conclusions, *a posteriori*, that the mixing of race was the basic cause of the decline of Indian culture. And so in Rosenberg's early youth are found those leading ideas which later inspired him to compose the new German Bible. They were belief in blood, anti-Semitism, refusal of Christianity and domination by those who are racially superior.

Although he was a Russian citizen, Rosenberg was a member of a German students' club and so, during the war, had to play a very dubious rôle. After the German occupa-

tion of Reval the registers of Rubonia Corps came to Germany. Extracts from them, especially in so far as they concerned Rosenberg, were published by his political enemies. These disclosed that Rosenberg had rather far-reaching relations with non-Aryans within the corps, and further that the corps had joined in adulation with the victory celebrations of the Russians and other patriotic functions in order to preserve in this way their corps house, the old Powder Tower.

Although Rosenberg from 1919 onwards could not say enough about his anti-Bolshevism yet he avoided, in the struggles for power in Russia in 1917-1918, giving practical proof of sympathy on the side of the White Army. While tens of thousands of Russian anti-Communists were losing their lives in battles against the Red Army, Rosenberg at first fled to South Russia. Nevertheless he returned and went to Moscow untroubled by the Bolsheviks, and there he was able to pass his final examinations. There is, no doubt, proof that at least in these days he did not pass as an enemy of Lenin's régime.

In some extremely adventurous and so far unexplained manner Rosenberg next arrived in Paris. Goering, whose relations with Rosenberg are not of the friendliest, once said in the Reichstag: 'I should very much like to know what sort of job the fellow had in Paris in 1918.'

Toward the end of 1918, shortly before the collapse of the German fronts, Rosenberg appeared in Reval again, which was then held by a German army of occupation under General von Goltz. Rosenberg declares that he offered his services to the German army there as a volunteer. But he was refused because he was not of German birth, and anyone belonging to occupied territory was not able to join the German army.

Once again Rosenberg came before the public eye: this time with political speeches directed against Jewish Bol-

shevism. It is pretty certain he only made such speeches before the Red Russians marched into Reval. On this occasion also it did not occur to him to confirm his hatred of Communism by active participation against the entering Red troops; he took headlong flight into Germany. He first went to Munich, where, just as in Reval, he held anti-Communist meetings until the Räte-Republic was proclaimed there also, when he once more fled.

Rosenberg's first marriage took place in Russia, and he brought his wife with him to Munich. She was seriously ill. During this time he was in the direst need, and tried every means at his disposal to earn a living. As a non-German national he could hardly hope to find a situation fitted to his education as an architect. A titled Baltic woman to whom he turned for help gave him an introduction to Dietrich Eckart, the well-known Munich journalist, for he knew that the latter, together with Hitler, was actively engaged in an anti-Semitic movement. Eckart granted him an interview and Rosenberg's first words as he opened the door were, 'Have you any use for a fighter against Jerusalem?'

'Certainly,' said Eckart, 'if the fighter has proved his capabilities.' Rosenberg thereupon left with Eckart a few anti-Semitic and half-philosophical writings. Two days later he was telephoned by Eckart and told that he could apply the articles very usefully and would expect some further contributions. He had immediately recognised Rosenberg's indubitable talent as a semi-philosophic journalist, and made a point of getting a hold on him in spite of his Baltic descent to serve as a most important ally in the German struggles. The movement of which Eckart and Rosenberg were the centre was still at that time quite small and practically without means, so that, in spite of his initial success, Rosenberg's material position did not undergo any appreciable improvement. A short time after this his

wife died of tuberculosis, in great poverty. (In 1925 he married a second time. He had two children by this marriage, the first a boy, who died soon after birth, the second a girl, who is still alive.)

Eckart soon struck up a friendship with Rosenberg and as a matter of course introduced him to his friend, Hitler, within a few weeks. This first encounter between Hitler and Rosenberg occurred in a little inn called 'The German Reich'. Rosenberg's historic-philosophic utterances made a direct and deep impression on Hitler, while Rosenberg, in his turn, was correspondingly affected by Hitler's fanatical hatred of Social Democrats and Jews. A few days after, Rosenberg joined the National Socialist German Workers' Party—a mere handful in those days.

Just as in his Russian days Rosenberg, although he is powerful, well-built and sound, did not join the Storm Troops (S.A.) of the Party; he preferred to influence Party movements from his desk. He stayed constantly with Eckart, and when in 1921 a provincial paper, a small, four-paged affair, was up for sale, he bought it with the assistance of the Reichswehr. This was the *Völkische Beobachter*, then a gossipy paper in small format which gave publicity to local events. Eckart and Rosenberg became together the sole leader-writers of this paper, which immediately turned to anti-Semitism and the vilification of Social Democracy and Communism.

Dietrich Eckart was ill already when the new paper was launched, and in 1923 he retired on account of this illness. Rosenberg became chief leader-writer and simultaneously the paper was changed from a weekly into a daily, but still retained its four pages. Henceforth Rosenberg was in the thick of the movement and found himself compelled to participate actively in the individual Party fights. In those large-scale collisions at Koburg in 1922 and at the November *putsch* in Munich in 1923 he was roped in when Hitler

went into the fray; but was neither wounded nor captured, for he knew how to take to his heels. While Hitler and Hess were imprisoned, with Goering escaped to Austria and the other leaders dispersed, Rosenberg endeavoured, on Hitler's orders, to hold the relics of the movement together. The Party and the *Völkische Beobachter* were banned until March, 1925. Immediately afterwards, however, Rosenberg assumed once more the leadership of the Party newspaper, which soon appeared in more pretentious size, for in the meantime Hitler had by chance an American printing machine, in large format, placed at his disposal.

As early as 1923 to 1925 Rosenberg's first fundamental Party doctrine appeared. In 1923, even before the *putsch*, Rosenberg had composed something in the nature of a first programme of the Party under the title 'The Nature, Principles and Aims of the N.S.D.A.P.' From Hitler's ideas; from Georg Feder's proposals for shaking off the 'yoke of usury' (*Brechung der Finsknechtschaft*), from Rosenberg's own not yet fully matured notions regarding blood and honour, racial preservation and heathen proselytising, arose the first demands for a new Party.

There had indeed been, in the sense of National Socialism and anti-Semitism, a Party organising meetings and mass marches but it had had no real programme. One of the first demands of this book, *The Nature, Principles and Aims of the N.S.D.A.P.*, runs as follows: 'He is a citizen, and he only, who is a fellow-countryman. He is only a fellow-countryman who, without regard to what he professes himself to be, is of German blood. Therefore no Jew can be a fellow-countryman.'

A very large proportion of the conceptions laid down by Hitler in *Mein Kampf* can be traced back to this first programme of Rosenberg's. Hitler's work was written under the immediate impression and just after the publication of Rosenberg's book, and had appeared hard upon its

heels. With Rosenberg's theoretical substructure the whole movement took on a different aspect. Completely new ideas came suddenly to the fore as catchwords, and often only as catchwords, for Party members, for the most part, could not understand Rosenberg's high-falutin' way of expressing himself.

Rosenberg had imported into Hitler's original programme these new aims :

1. The doctrine of racial value, that is the superiority of German Aryan blood.
2. The doctrine of the Third Reich.
3. The demand for German expansion to the East as territory for German settlement, with the simultaneous proclamation of a war against Bolshevism.

In more recent years the demand for war against Christianity was added, but this was not unconditionally accepted by all sections of the Party. Influential as Rosenberg's theoretical elaborations on the development of the Party were, and thankful as Hitler undoubtedly was for this unique champion of the new ideas on the intellectual and philosophical plane, yet this very last point of his was recognised after 1933 as correspondingly troublesome to Hitler and to German Foreign Policy. For the whole conflict of National Socialism with the Catholic Church, and a large element of internal disharmony may be referred back to this ruthless campaign by Rosenberg against Christianity. Arising out of this, it must be explained that Hitler, in latter years, has forced him into the background, and banished him to posts which keep him more out of public life.

This should not be allowed to mislead one over the clear fact that Rosenberg has exercised, and continues to exercise, a decisive influence on the internal development of the Party and on its whole tendency right up to the present

day; not only by his philosophic and programmatic writings, but still more by his activities as a leader-writer of the *Völkische Beobachter*. Wherever the movement needed intellectual foundations Rosenberg was drawn in as the most reliable spokesman. In 1924 *Der Weltkampf* (World Struggle) was founded by him (the *Völkische Beobachter* being banned at that time). In 1929 he was commissioned to form a 'League of Fighters for German Culture', and in 1930 he founded the *National Socialist Monthly*.

Rosenberg, who had to fight for naturalisation until 1923, and only became a German citizen by the compliance of a small German community under Hitler's influence, was made a member of the German Reichstag in 1930. He was sent on tours and special missions by the Party, and in April, 1933, became chief of the Foreign Institute; this after he had been debarred from the post of Ambassador in London by his own tactlessness in laying a wreath adorned with a huge swastika on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

In 1930 Rosenberg published his masterpiece, his *Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Myth of the Twentieth Century). Rosenberg purposely used the coined word 'Mythus' instead of 'Mythos' in order to indicate even in the title a Germanisation, as it were, of this borrowed word. The book is, beyond a shadow of doubt, written by a real thinker, and one trained in philosophy; but its extravagances and distortions are so frequent that in many passages it is illogical and consequently its effect is provocative. It is merely the opposition and flatly crushing reception of the work in democratic circles which has forced it beyond the bounds of its true importance into the centre of the National Socialist struggle. A few propositions from this 'Rosenbergian' book must here be quoted, however difficult they may be to understand.

'The soul is race, viewed from within. And, vice-versa,



ROSENBERG OPENING THE "ETERNAL GERMANY" EXHIBITION.

the race is the soul's exterior. To arouse race-soul to life is to recognise its superiority, and under its domination to assign to the other values their organic position in the State, Art and Religion. That is the task of the century: to create from a new life-myth a new type of human.'

In this book Rosenberg lays down the doctrine of 'blood' as the basis of German development. Of his religion of Blood he says:

'Racial history is natural history and at the same time the mysticism of the soul: but the history of the religion of Blood is on the contrary the great world story of the rise and decline of peoples, their heroes and thinkers, their inventors and artists.'

According to Rosenberg the decline of a people comes to pass because the individuals belonging to it transgress against the eternal laws of blood. And he continues:

'Out of the unclouded originality of their blood the Culture Peoples had fashioned their cultures, and with these they declined when they became unfaithful to their creative blood.' Further: 'In every single human work a race-soul finds its expression as allegorically as it does in the physical form of the individual.' For, according to Rosenberg's conception, the individuality of a lordly race (*Herrenrasse*) conditioned by blood and soul is detrimentally affected by the influences of a foreign race-soul. The superior race is only created by the community of blood and being of all Germans.

Very much in contrast, however, with the methods of National Socialism to-day, which completely deny honour and freedom of thought, Rosenberg then goes on: 'Honour and freedom of thought, these are the eternal landmarks in the realm of the German soul which unchanging in the changes of time are implicit in every hint and every manifestation which has ever been vouchsafed by the German being.'

As a red thread running through this work, and through several others which have come about in connection with it, this belief in blood time and again comes to the surface. This faith displaces all others: religion, responsibility, consideration. It is ever the Nordic-Aryan blood that Rosenberg sees as the culturally creative power in world history at work. The collapse of the Greek and Roman world-empires, the disintegration of Indian culture are, according to Rosenberg, only to be explained by the mixing of blood, the 'watering down' of superior blood by that which is inferior. And he advances this demand:

'All values which have been crowded out by foreign and hostile intellectual tendencies must be set up afresh according to the one inborn German law.'

As was only to be expected Rosenberg, on the basis of these half-mystical, half-distorted ideas, had to come into direct conflict with the Christian confession of faith. He asks for the creation of a new heathen and native German religion to correspond with this religion of blood, since the influence of Christianity can only be harmful to the former. And so he says: 'A German and religious movement which might develop into a national church will have to explain that the (*scilicet* Christian) ideal of brotherly love is to be unconditionally subordinated to the idea of a national tenet; that no act by a German Church may be considered valid which does not serve primarily the security of the nation. And thereby is once more unmasked the insoluble battle against the point of view which openly proclaims that the ties of the Church rank higher than those of the nation.'

Elsewhere Rosenberg makes mock of individual articles of ecclesiastical faith. In the first place he takes up cudgels against the Churches' conception of hereditary sin. He explains that this idea could only have been discovered in a debauched Rome, for at just that time sin had found its

way everywhere through the mixing of different blood. Neither with Homer's heroes, nor with the ancient Indians or Germans, had the illusion of original sin ever been able to make headway. And German blood must strive, once more, to free itself from this absurd idea. Blood and honour must form the German soul. 'Grecian beauty is the fashioning of the body, German beauty is the fashioning of the soul. The one means outward balance, the other means inward law.'

In many parts of Germany it was possible to observe before Rosenberg's day inclinations to heathen customs. The cult of Wotan, the worship of Freya and Loki had not been fully stamped out in isolated spots in Germany, even in the most peaceful times before the World War. The distress of the war and post-war years had fostered a return to superstition, the forming of sects, and the return of heathen cults. In many cases, therefore, the preaching of a new heathen religion by Rosenberg fell on fertile ground. In Westphalia individual villages left the Evangelical Church as one man. The peasants are confessedly heathen; they have set up a heathen cemetery in the middle of the North German moors, with heathen places of worship. In many cases marriages between Party members are no longer solemnised in the church or before a registrar, but under Wotan's oak with the aid of definitely heathen customs. Antagonism against the Church, as against any religion, is not only shown by the followers of the new heathenism, but above all by youth, the S.A., and partly by the Government itself.

The arrest of a former war-time pilot, the courageous evangelical pastor, Niemöller, is to be traced directly back to the tendencies unleashed by Rosenberg's book.

Hitler himself has declared the *Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* to be the outstanding philosophic book of the present

day. This is not to be wondered at when one realises that Hitler, particularly of late, is no longer to be moved to the study of any book whatever, much less a philosophical one. Since the intellectual level of other German leaders is, for the most part, considerably below Hitler's, it is easy to see that the influence of Rosenberg's work is outstanding over the whole of the Party.

In spite of the many deficiencies and exaggerations which accompany this *chef d'œuvre* of Rosenberg, a certain standard is not to be denied it. The same can hardly be said of a whole string of his other works. He is confessedly the author and chief disseminator of the notorious *Protokolle der Weisen von Sion* (Protocols of the Banishment from Sion) which could be branded repeatedly as one of the greatest distortions of history. Rosenberg, in the beginning, when asked about the true sources of this masterpiece, offered the explanation that the material had been given him by a stranger—had been, as it were, placed on his desk by a supernatural messenger. He was, however, clever enough in later years, especially in subsequent editions of the *Mythus*, to ignore these protocols.

Apart from the protocols, Rosenberg has also published a sheaf of extraordinarily malicious and venomous writings, on the very lowest level, which have been aimed at the Freemasons, the Socialists, and Jews. The titles of some of his works give a sure indication of their general tendency: *Das Verbrechen der Freimaurerei* (The Crime of Freemasonry), *Der Weltverschwörungskongress zu Basel* (Congress of World Conspirators at Basle), *Unmoral im Talmud* (Immorality in the Talmud), *Pest in Russland* (Plague in Russia), *Der staatsfeindliche Zionismus* (Zionism the Enemy of the State), etc.

In his writings Rosenberg repeatedly takes his stand, like a demagogue, against even the larger capitalists, with an open bias and without any justification.

This is one side of the influence that Rosenberg exercises on the Party.

The other side is no less important for it forms one of the fundamentals of the present-day imperialistic aims of the Great German Reich: the war against Bolshevism, the capture of territory in the East for German settlement, and the introduction of German culture into the Russian quagmire.

Rosenberg, who has always fared well in Russia, is possessed by a bottomless hatred of Bolshevism and everything Slavonic, and this hatred ranks worthily with his hatred of Jews and Freemasonry. On this side of him the Baltic German expresses itself. In Russia he always felt himself a being of superior birth, a privileged lordly being (*Herrenmensch*) around whom surged the lower peoples, the Slavs, the Finns, the Estonians.

Even during the period when he lived in Munich (in 1933 the *Völkische Beobachter* and its chief leader-writer moved to Berlin) this Baltic man was the centre of a host of Russo-German, Ukrainian or Russian counter-revolutionaries. From the beginning Rosenberg brought a certain number of these friends into Hitler's circle, and of such was Baron Max Erwin von Scheubner-Richter, who played a lead as Hitler's political adviser until the 9th of November, 1923 (on that day he fell before the Feldherrenhalle, under the fire of the attacking Wehrmacht). He introduced Hitler to the far too notorious Ukrainian, Hetman Skoropadski, who had butchered thousands without cause, and had set in motion the bloody massacres of Jews. This group made a special point of the complete annihilation of Poland, which Rosenberg in his leading articles repeatedly compared to a hysterical woman who must be reduced to reason with chastisement. The dream of German predominance in the Ukraine was aroused again by Rosenberg. On the 10th of October, 1928, he was already demanding that Ukrainian

Germans be offered the Ukrainian portion of Poland. In another leader (the 22nd of September, 1926) Rosenberg proclaimed: 'The German People needs room in the East, and this must be achieved at the expense of the Polish State, which is in any case incapable.'

Whilst a section of the Leftist National Socialists, chiefly Gregor Strasser and for a time Goebbels (while he was Strasser's private secretary), energetically advocated a union between National Socialism and Bolshevism, Hitler placed himself from the first under Rosenberg's influence, and was irreconcilably against Bolshevism, and thereby not only supplied the movement with a new catchword but also paved the way for himself, in later years, to German heavy industry and high finance.

By his anti-Bolshevism Rosenberg had opened up for Hitler one of the most decisive money sources, and also provided one of the most important aims of foreign policy. In the early period of the movement the Professor of Geopolitics, Haushofer (Rudolf Hess's friend), during the compilation of *Mein Kampf* backed Rosenberg by also pointing out the need for German living space in the East. After the great change of Government of the 4th of February, 1938, it was the new Commander-in-chief, General Brauchitsch, who was principally for attack eastwards. Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland, Hungary and Rumania are the posts and forts which must be captured to enable German living room to be extended in the direction of the Ukraine. Apart from the complete subjection of Czechoslovakia, one of the Reich's chief demands has always been the ultimate liquidation of the Polish Republic and its subjection to German superiority.

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Rosenberg's character is extremely complicated. Edgar von Schmidt-Pauli, one of his biographers, writes of him thus: 'One is, moreover, surprised, when one makes the personal acquaintance of Rosenberg. His writings lead one to suppose that he is a wild berserker, a gloomy Hagen, but there is something open and friendly about him which tones down the fanaticism of his thoughts, and he shows a pleasantly touching readiness to listen in conversation, with an attentive and considerate ear.'

In itself this praise is not enough, and it cannot counter-balance a considered fanaticism, which is biassed and impatient. But this biographer is in no way just to the personality of Rosenberg. There is no doubt that he is clever, even if he is over-acute, enormously productive and capable, and in his use of his literary talents he is as persuasive as Hitler with his gift of oratory. The blind fanatic speaks in all his facts and dealings, not only (in company with Hitler, Streicher and Ley) in preaching furious and bloody war against Jewry, but also in the claims he makes for Totalitarianism.

Rosenberg is to be counted on as the person in the Party most powerfully endowed intellectually, and at the same time as father-confessor to Hitler, and Grand Inquisitor to the whole movement. Because of some mistake due to lack of discretion he has had to take a back seat in foreign politics, but his intellectual and journalistic influence remains, and Hitler must always, in the long run, be swayed by Rosenberg's keen and persuasive arguments, although he often wishes he were rid of this sometimes inconvenient leader-writer of the *Völkische Beobachter*.

Rosenberg is by no means suited to be chief leader-writer of the *Völkische Beobachter*. He is a good thinker, a philosophically trained author and orator, but a very bad leader-writer and journalist. Although the *Völkische Beobachter* is the real Party paper and so has a correspond-

ingly large forced circulation, and its voice is taken here and there at home and abroad to be authoritative, yet for Party opinion and the political attitude, Goebbels' *Angriff*, Goering's *Essener National Zeitung*, both the less official papers, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, and the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, and finally the *Berliner Lokalanzeiger* are quoted. There is no doubt that Rosenberg himself must chiefly be blamed for this. He has more interest and understanding for his racial philosophy than for truly political events and opinions. It is well known that Max Amann, the publisher of the *Völkische Beobachter*, has for ten years waged desperate warfare against the conduct of the *Völkische Beobachter* in order to convert it into a really good paper. He has not been able to persuade Rosenberg to improve the standard or to retire. The more Rosenberg, in consequence of his attitude of enmity towards the Church and, in recent months, his truculent anti-Bolshevism (which Hitler since the anti-aggression pact has found doubly troublesome), appears to be eliminated from active politics, the more he asserts himself in the ideological structure of the Party. Hitler, however, needs him in this function, and so constantly defends him against Amann's attempts to thrust him out of his long-established seat.

Rosenberg is not over-much loved in the Party. His personality is accepted as a necessity, but in more serious circles the fact is not concealed that it is precisely by his ideology that he has contributed in large measure to make National Socialism much more hated than he would have done by his other utterances. For this reason, especially since Hitler's departure from Rosenberg's anti-Bolshevism, the position of the 'father-confessor' and 'heathen proselyte' has already been somewhat shaken. However important to the movement Rosenberg's substructure has been, there may in future be no better place reserved for this type of 'intellectual' than previously. Rosenberg will

always remain in present-day Germany a specially important figure, and he will certainly endeavour to strengthen his influence by new books and new theories, but, as compared with most of the other captains of the movement, he may have already passed his zenith.

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THE FOURTH APOSTLE

*Rudolf Hess,
the Führer's Deputy*

ON THE 1ST OF SEPTEMBER, 1939, the day of the outbreak of a new world war, Adolf Hitler declared to the German Reichstag, called together for the purpose, that after his death Goering was to assume the leadership of the Third Reich. In the event of anything happening to Goering, then Rudolf Hess, the Führer's deputy, was to be promoted as Führer.

Thus Rudolf Hess, the 'brown mouse' as he is called by the other leaders of the Party, reached the summit of a career which he has carved out for himself by quite different means from Hitler's other henchmen. From the very first Hess pursued the tactics of being elevated through Hitler himself. Slavishly he followed every step of the Führer, and with tenacious perseverance held fast to the idea that he, the brown mouse, unnoticed at first, would be irradiated by the lustre of his idol.

Rudolf Hess started as Hitler's first bodyguard, and then he became his private secretary and doorkeeper. 'My brave Maurice', as Hitler himself repeatedly calls him in *Mein Kampf*. From 1919 to 1932, a full thirteen years, 'brave Maurice' was always there in the background. Only intimate friends knew of his presence; neither as an intellectual force nor as a power factor did he count.

Then on the 9th of December, 1932, all the Unterführer of the National Socialist Party who were already powerful had a big surprise. Gregor Strasser, who until the day

before had been, after Hitler, the most influential man in the Party and for a time was even its leader, had written a letter of farewell to Hitler containing weighty accusations and reproaches. He had left Germany, a very embittered man, and gone to Lake Como to swallow his disappointment. The next day the remaining officials of the Party gathered together at a very excited meeting. Strasser's followers were ranged against those of Hitler and hard and insulting words were bandied about. As, generally speaking, the upbringing of most of the leaders was not too genteel, the meeting threatened to come to fisticuffs or something rather more violent.

This was the moment when Rudolf Hess, 'the brown mouse', chose to roar down the house with a stentorian voice. At first the contestants were hushed. Not because they had been scared by Hess, but from sheer astonishment that Hitler's private secretary suddenly dared to make himself heard against such men as Goering, Goebbels, Feder, or Streicher. Then the whole herd turned on Hess to show him his proper place. But now came the 'brown mouse's' hour of triumph.

Rudolf Hess drew from his pocket a sheet of paper, waved it above his head and then held it out to his clamorous opponents. Quiet reigned again for a moment, while he read out to them a warrant, in which, by Hitler's command, unlimited power in the Party was granted to him—Rudolf Hess. As Strasser had resigned 'brave Maurice' was appointed official leader of the Party, and chief of the central political committee.

The bombshell had its effect.

Hess, who had never been much of a talker, but merely a man of physical strength, had suddenly, by Hitler's warrant, obtained effective power over the Unterführer. On the basis of Hitler's very precise instructions, he succeeded in bringing the Unterführer to reason. After a short

time Strasser's followers were compelled to yield and obliged to put their signatures to a document in which they vowed unquestioning submission to Hitler and Hess.

Rudolf Hess may superficially appear colourless, but from a psychological point of view he is an interesting figure. He stands out clearly among the hurly-burly of the other leaders of the National Socialist movement. Hess has no published works to show, nor has he made enough speeches to clarify for us his intellectual opinions. Yet one may perceive the man from his structure. At his very first meeting with Hitler he fell for him as though under a spell, and for twenty years has been completely dependent on the Führer. But he deliberately uses his dependence to make his adopted personality stand out in relief. He is as ambitious as the others, except that his ambition is completely bound up with Hitler's, and, considering his own capabilities and his lack of imagination, he knows that only the great figure of the Führer, whom he slavishly adores, can give his own figure value. His constant thought is to observe and imitate Adolf Hitler to such an extent that one day he will be capable of filling the position that Hitler carved out for himself by very different capabilities. For this reason Hitler's declaration before the Reichstag on the 1st of September, 1939, was a triumph, the reward of twenty years' striving. His appointment as successor was confirmed by Hitler's own words, just as on the 9th of December, 1932, Hitler's *carte blanche* authority had elevated him above the other Party members.

Hess is the type of primitively strong, large-framed, brawling officer, who is very courageous, and always ready for a fight when it is a question of defending his adopted 'Führer personality'. He is educated, has considerably more book-learning than Hitler, but is unable to think creatively or to accomplish anything constructive. When one wishes to describe him, leaving out his size and his

joy in battle, one must think of those characterless, quiet, unassuming, and unnoticed private secretaries, who are often seen in the offices of industrialists and bankers. They steal into the room when they are summoned by the bell, busy themselves noiselessly at bookcase or desk while their chief searches for material, wait as though in adoration until they catch a glance from their employer's eye. Hess served Hitler from the beginning with an almost doglike devotion. At first he was really only a bodyguard who, in *Saalschlachten*, leaped forward to defend his master. Hitler in *Mein Kampf* describes Hess's activities at that time, when he gives a picture of the first *Saalschlacht* of his Party: 'A psychological error which I committed in parrying an interruption gave the signal for an uproar. It was really a very funny sight—the ball had scarcely been set rolling when my storm-troopers, for so they were called from that day, attacked. Like wolves they hurled themselves in packs of eight or ten on their opponents, and began to drive them out of the hall. How many I first got properly to know on that occasion! And at the head was my brave Maurice, my present private secretary, Hess.' (*Mein Kampf*, page 566.)

In one of these *Saalschlachten* Hess had a beer-mug broken over his head and still bears the mark, a scar where no hair will grow. He is a ruffian, impetuous and violent, but only in the execution of orders or in defence of the Führer. He is only base when ordered to be so by Hitler, for in himself Hess is one of the few inborn decent personalities of the Party, merely induced to infamous actions by bad company. His own disposition would hardly incline him that way. He is, too, one of the few National Socialist leaders who come of good family and who had a good upbringing.

Hess is actually an *Auslandsdeutscher*. He was born in Alexandria (Egypt) on the 26th of April, 1896, son of Fritz

Hess, a merchant living there. His family had come from Frankenland and their original home was in the little town of Wunsiedel. His mother came of Swiss farmers. Until his fourteenth year he was educated in Alexandria, but then started his studies at High School in Godesberg on the Rhine. His higher school studies, which lasted only two years, were chiefly concerned with physics, and at the age of seventeen he was taking a commercial course, for it was intended that he should later go into his father's export business. He spent a time in French Switzerland, and then in Hamburg, where, at the outbreak of the war, he joined up as a volunteer. In 1916 he was wounded at Verdun, but returned to the field six months later, this time in Rumania. He became a lieutenant in the infantry but joined the Air Force just before the end of the war. In contrast to Goering and Ley, who were especially impetuous pilot-officers, Hess had no outstanding achievements to his credit, but nevertheless sufficient to win him a graduation (*Feldfliegerabzeichen*).

The first meeting between Hess and Hitler came about without either knowing the other, quite by chance on the Western Front in the late autumn of 1917. Hess had conducted relief transport to the front. On reporting to the commander, Lieutenant-Colonel von Tubeuf, he met a dispatch rider, Lance-Corporal Adolf Hitler, who was attached to the command. When Hitler and Hess, at a much later date, were digging up their war memories, they both accurately recalled this first chance encounter.

Their first conscious meeting followed in May, 1921, when Hess was present at a little gathering where Hitler spoke to a mere handful of supporters. Hess was immediately enthusiastic about Hitler and said to a friend of his, as they left the hall, 'If anyone can put Germany on its feet again, it will be this fellow Hitler.'

Hess's impression of Hitler is only to be explained by

the fact that the latter, in his expositions, gave exact form to those thoughts which Hess, in a wild turmoil of feelings, had never been able to express clearly. Hess was a fanatical nationalist, an anti-Semite and a soldier. He felt humiliated by Germany's defeat in the world war and regarded the new conditions in the Reich as a personal insult, without being able, however, in his intellectual confusion to find a proper way out.

Here and there he had sought rather aimlessly to busy himself with politics, but in the attempt had only with the greatest difficulty escaped being arrested, or perhaps shot. For a while he was a member of the nationalist and anti-Semitic *Thulegesellschaft* (the forerunner of the publishing house of the *Völkische Beobachter*). In the spring of 1919 he was distributing anti-Semitic and anti-Social Democratic pamphlets in Munich. He returned to the *Thulegesellschaft* to obtain more leaflets just in time to see the Reds drive up to arrest any members of the company who were to be found in the building. Their prisoners were first used as hostages, and later shot. On this occasion, therefore, Hess escaped death quite by chance. On the 1st of May, 1919, he was fighting again in the ranks of his former comrades-at-arms against the Social Democrats, who at that time had the upper hand in Munich. He was wounded in the leg but his companions hauled him out of danger.

After these signally unsuccessful attempts in the province of politics Hess realised that he evidently was not born for this game, and endeavoured to rejoin the mercantile profession. He had little success. He is no more qualified mentally to be an efficient merchant than to be a thinking, or leading politician. He can, at best, conscientiously carry out commissions and orders, but anything creative is beyond him.

But it was just this factor which made him appear par-

ticularly suited to be, first bodyguard, then private secretary, and finally deputy to Hitler. In his immediate acquaintance Hitler will not tolerate brains, only brawn. All three men who, from the beginning of the movement up to the present day, have belonged to Hitler's most intimate circle, fit this description. These are Rudolf Hess, his private secretary and deputy, Heinrich Hofmann, his favourite photographer, and Max Amann, the director of the Party Press. All these men have really far more influence on Hitler than his principal Ministers, but where brains are concerned they are neither prominent nor important.

As before mentioned, Hitler admitted Hess, the former lieutenant, into his private guard as a powerful swash-buckler. In numerous *Saalschlachten* Hess sprang to the defence of Hitler, he covered the Führer's retreat when there were defeats, and often stayed by him when some plot was feared. In the prison at Landsberg, he not only drew closer personally to Hitler during the long months of imprisonment, but he it was, too, who first gave Hitler's famous and infamous book *Mein Kampf* its proper shape. Hitler was not then able to produce his confused and tumultuous thoughts in a form suitable for the publisher. His ideas simply poured forth, and Hess, who had no concrete thoughts but was better educated, set them down on paper.

In this way the much-discussed 'Hitler style' came about, which was so strange that the ordinary citizen could not afford the time to wade through his involved and often illogical sentences.

It was a curious circumstance which caused Hess to share imprisonment with Hitler at Landsberg. Hess was not one of the contestants in the bloody battle before the Feldherrenhalle at Munich on the 9th of March, 1923. He had a commission to fulfil, which showed that even this quiet and well-brought-up young man was capable of cruelties that

one would not have credited him with in the normal way. On the night of the 8th of November, 1923, Hess arrested, in the Bürgerbräu, von Knilling, the Bavarian Premier, and Dr. Schweyer, the Minister for Home Affairs. Whilst Hitler, with Ludendorff and Scheubner-Richter, marched out with his armed S.A., Rudolf Hess, with a car in which were two prisoners, the Bavarian Ministers, Schweyer and Wutzelhofer, guarded by a bunch of storm-troopers armed to the teeth, sped to the mountains. He eventually ordered the car to stop at a deserted spot, and his two prisoners were dragged out. They were set on their feet, their eyes were bandaged, and Hess in a loud voice gave the order to his mercenaries to load and take aim. The two men must have thought that their last hour had come. Hess, however, did not give the order to fire: the prisoners were hauled back to the car and the journey went on. A few miles further on the same game was repeated but the rifles were fired—not, however, at the two men. The shots were aimed just to miss them and so to protract their agonies. The two Ministers were unharmed and the journey still went on. At the next cross-roads Hess learnt that the *putsch* in Munich had collapsed, so, deserting the car, he took flight into the mountains and left his prisoners to the ruffianly storm-troopers. After suffering some rough treatment and agonies of fear they were eventually brought back to Munich, for the storm-troopers did not dare to do them real harm after the frustration of the *putsch*. Hess was called to account; for the kidnapping itself and the accompanying aggravating circumstances by which the victims had been caused so much mental anguish he was sentenced to several months' imprisonment at Landsberg. Thus he was near to Hitler. The close connection between the two which had existed before was now thoroughly cemented, for Hess made himself indispensable during these months of captivity as collaborator in the compilation of *Mein*

Kampf. It must be appreciated that only the first part of Hitler's book was written at Landsberg. The greater part was written, still with Hess's co-operation, in the following years at Obersalzberg, near Berchtesgaden, a house which had been placed at the disposal of Hitler and Hess by their friends.

At this period Hess was a decisive factor for Hitler, and even for the whole future of the Third Reich, for another reason. Immediately following their release from prison the two were practically financially destitute, and Hitler could do nothing about it. Hess himself turned to an old friend for support, General Haushofer, the professor of geopolitics at the University of Munich. This man gave Hess a paid appointment as some kind of assistant. At the same time, however, and what was more important, Haushofer came into close contact with Hitler. Haushofer is the man who had his eye on eastern territory as a natural area for German colonisation, and he it was who, in company with Alfred Rosenberg, just when Hitler's book was in the making, aroused in him the dream of Polish and Ukrainian provinces.

Hitler now learnt for the first time practical economic geography. This course, begun by Haushofer, was in the long run, as were Rosenberg's exertions, and finally those of General Brauchitsch, the cause of the new war begun in 1939 against Poland. Just at the moment it is particularly interesting to refer to these associations.

A characteristic light is thrown on Hess's intentions by an essay which he composed in the early days of the movement. A German in Spain had got up a prize competition for an essay answering this question, 'What sort of man will he be who will lead Germany to greatness?' Hess composed, in conjunction with Hitler, a sketch which, of course, outlined Hitler and depicted him as the ideal of a future leader of Germany. He received first prize. Some



HISS, MAKING A CHRISTMAS SPEECH

sentences of his effort are worth quoting because they clearly indicate his relations with the leadership: 'The basis of all national greatness is national self-consciousness, the will of a people to self-assertion in the world. Napoleon hit upon the powerful nationalism of the French Revolution. The German dictator must first revive and nurture this factor.' There Hitler is sketched. In the following sentence Hitler is still indicated, but the conclusion of the paragraph shows the intentions of Hess: 'To dare the beginning in all that is to be, that is the characteristic of leadership. Afterwards anyone may easily dare the continuation.'

The continuation! Even then this was the dream of Rudolf Hess, then, when it seemed out of the question that Hitler could be master of Germany. And yet Hess placed himself in the shadow of the Führer, so that if possible he could take over a rich legacy as his successor.

The influence of Hess on Hitler is very great, not only because as his former bodyguard and private secretary he is entrusted with every detail of the Führer's life, of the movement and its personal circle, but also because he has most certainly a better knowledge of human nature than Hitler. Party members who meet Hess are often astonished that he speaks with almost the same diction as the Führer himself. These men are unaware that Hess invented the diction to use it in *Mein Kampf* and Hitler then took over happily worded phrases from his secretary. On the other hand it is naturally quite possible that Hess in the course of time has picked up Hitler's stereotyped style so well that without knowing it he speaks with the Führer's sentence-formation. It is owing to this fact that the far-reaching tie between the two men has arisen. It is said that Hitler originally wished Hess to take first place as his successor and not Goering, as announced on the 1st of September, 1939. But Goering proved himself the stronger and vainer

man, so that Hess had to retire. Hitler is naturally aware that Hess would be a more reliable testamentary executor than Goering. He is less burdened and has fewer irons in the fire, and would merely carry on the movement in Hitler's sense.

The close connection between Hess and Hitler has of course given rise to much gossip. For quite a while the private secretary was called nothing but 'Fräulein Hess'. As Hitler had no relations with women, and Hess was constantly seen in his company, people put two and two together. It was the period when homosexuality was beginning to run riot in the S.A. and unnatural relations were consequently suspected between Hess and Hitler. This suspicion is certainly not founded on fact. As has been said, Hess is a model of powerful, healthy manhood; outwardly he is more forceful than Hitler himself. One of his former intimate friends, Kurt G. W. Ludecke, has described Hess thus in his book *I Knew Hitler* (p. 518):

'There sat a man not easy to read. I couldn't quite see the epithet "Fräulein", for he was virility itself. Luxurious, dark hair crowned a strong angular face; he had grey-green eyes under heavy, bushy brows; a fleshy nose, a firm mouth and a square and determined jaw. Slender and clean-limbed, he was good-looking and rather Irish in appearance. There was a restrained fanaticism in his eyes, but his manner was collected and quiet. I recall him as a commanding presence, a compliment one can pay to only a few of the higher Nazi chiefs.'

Hess's confidential position with Hitler has already expressed itself in the selection of certain persons for the Führer's close acquaintance. If a Party member did not respond to Hess one could be sure that after a while a corresponding reaction of Hitler towards this man would ensue. On the other hand Hess chose especially responsive individuals and these made much more rapid headway

than would have been possible by recommendations from other sources equally great.

As an *Auslandsdeutscher* (German-abroad) Hess has a special regard for Germans born abroad. He is of the opinion that these born and educated abroad without having lost their national sense must be particularly loyal and convinced supporters of the National Socialist system. It is due to Hess's influence that, comparatively speaking, so many *Auslandsdeutschen* have taken leading positions in the National Socialist Party. One of Hess's adopted is Ernst Wilhelm Bohle, who at only twenty-four years of age became leader of the very important *Organisation der Auslandsdeutschen*. Under the influence of Hess and Bohle the *Auslandsdeutschtum* (the foreign Germans as a whole) systematically became a sort of National Socialist counterpart of the Russian Comintern. It was Hess who was able to convince Hitler and Goebbels that the numerous *Auslandsdeutschen* colonials would be the best propaganda 'carriers' for the National Socialist movement. Hess, therefore, was responsible for placing the *Auslandsdeutschen* in the service of the movement without limitation. As he is very much 'the Führer's right hand' his influence often shows itself in the Party structure.

The mental groove in which the thoughts of Hitler and Hess ran in the early days of the movement is indicated by one of the few intellectual products of Rudolf Hess. In 1924 Hess wrote a rather meaningless poem entitled *Verdun*. Even in this poem the ruthless German demand for 'living room' was clearly expressed.

*He, Franzmann, das ist böser Morgengruss!
Ihr dort müsst sterben, dass wir leben können.
Wir selbst, und unser ganzes armes Volk.*

(Well, Frenchie, what a nice good morning!
You over there must die that we may live.
We and the whole of our needy people.)

Of course at that time no publisher was to be found for the poetical effusions of the 'brown mouse'. But in 1933, when Hitler had come into power, this poem among others was inflicted on the German reader. As has been said, Hess made no advance at all politically until the end of 1932. He remained bodyguard and private secretary. His rise, as sudden as it was vigorous, began when, in December, 1932, he was drawn out of his obscurity by Hitler and as a start was appointed leader of the Party. In 1934 Hess became an official Minister of State, and soon after received the title *Stellvertreter des Führers* (Deputy Führer).

The first manifestations of this deputyship were these. He appeared for Hitler on different official occasions, took over some less important business and receptions. Only after the declaration of war in September, 1939, Hess came more into the foreground. He issued summonses and proclamations, and had more publicity.

Whether Hess, by his doglike trust and devotion to the Führer—his chief service to the Party and Germany—will ever actually occupy Hitler's place, to which he is now designated, even though only second in succession, only the future can show. It is, however, not probable. For apart from all other considerations, Hess is at best only a mimic, and not a real leader. Herein lies the difference between him and the other present-day rulers in Germany.

THE FIFTH APOSTLE

*Heinrich Himmler,
the Hangman of Democracy*

ON THE NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 9TH, 1938, Heinrich Himmler, the Chief of the German Secret State Police (the Gestapo), was responsible for an order relating to the persecution of the Jews, which runs as follows:

*Rundstempel Geheime
Staatspolizei.*

JUDENAKTION

10 November, 1938.

Da von den Kripoleitstellen der Pol. Aemter fortwaehrend Rueckfragen an Gestapo gestellt werden, sind diese fernmuendlich von Folgendem zu verstaendigen:

Festzunehmen sind einflussreiche wohlhabende, maennliche Juden deutscher Staatsangehoerigkeit nicht zu hohen Alters, welche einen gesunden Eindruck machen.

Besitzer von Handfeuerwaffen sind besonders streng zu behandeln und darueber besondere Amtsvermerke aufzunehmen.

*Official Stamp of the Secret
State Police.*

THE JEWS

10th November, 1938.

As continual queries are being addressed to the Gestapo by the Criminal Departments of the various police headquarters they are to be informed by telephone as follows:

Influential, wealthy, male Jews of German nationality, and not too advanced years, who appear healthy are to be arrested.

Possessors of firearms are to be most rigorously dealt with, and special note is to be made of them.

Weiters ist streng geheim den Pol. Amtdienststellen fernmuendlich mitzuteilen, dass das Eigentum der inlaend. Juden dem Boden gleichzumachen ist. Die Polizei hat daher in derartigen Faellen nicht fuer die Juden einzuschreiten.

Brandstiftungen koennen nur dort vorgenommen werden, wo nicht die Gefahr besteht, dass eine Feuersbrunst ausbricht, daher in verbautem Stadtgebiet in der Regel nicht.

Im Ganzen sollen in jeder groessren Stadt ungefaehr 3000 Juden festgenommen werden.

(Unterschrift) ———

Amtsvermerk.—Von dieser Weisung wurden saemtliche Polizeiaemter, u, zw. die Krb. Ob. Ins. unter Hinweis auf die Vertraulichkeit der Mitteilung fernmuendlich verstaendigt.

Further, the police stations are to be informed by telephone, in strict secrecy, that the property of native Jews is to be completely destroyed. In such cases the police are, therefore, not to intercede on behalf of the Jews.

Fires may only be started where no danger of a subsequent conflagration can arise, and consequently not, for the most part, in built-up areas. Generally speaking, approximately three thousand Jews are to be apprehended in each of the larger towns.

(Signed) ———

Official note.—All police headquarters, etc., and the Krb. Ob. Ins. were instructed by telephone, following this order, and emphasis was placed on the confidential nature of the information.

This order was carried out to the letter by the police authorities of all the larger towns of Germany. It is an order, be it noted, for the burning and destruction of the property of the Jews, and it has produced far-reaching political repercussions not only in Germany but also abroad. It is very closely bound up with the person of Heinrich Himmler, the Chief of the Gestapo. There was an immediate revulsion of feeling in world opinion regarding Germany—to the detriment of the Third Reich. Political aims

and the demands of law in home affairs under National Socialism were clarified. And these unfavourable effects are to be ascribed chiefly to this action against the Jews.

It was the first really decisive mistake in German foreign policy. The responsibility for it, as already mentioned, rests with Heinrich Himmler.

One would not guess from the man's appearance his hidden cruelty and sadism. For on the surface he merely gives the impression of being rather unassuming, a scholar perhaps. His countenance is smooth and not unfriendly. He wears glasses, behind which are clear and penetrating eyes. He is tall. When he is in the black uniform of the Defence Squad (*Schwarze Schutzstaffel*, or S.S.)—this band is under his leadership—he is imposing and impressive and yet the effect is soothing rather than stimulating. He looks well in uniform, and is a representative figure; but this impression alters the moment he assumes his inquisitorial office and is face to face with a prisoner from whom he wishes to extract a confession.

This is how one of these prisoners describes him :

‘The moment Himmler stepped up to us the expression of his eyes changed. Just before the look in them had been clear and open, now their expression became cold, veiled, and cunning. From this look an enormous sense of power strikes one. Suddenly one knows that it is a matter of no consequence to this man whether he tortures his victim to death or shoots him out of hand. These eyes and this sense of power account a human life at less than nothing. At first his rage is concealed, with difficulty, under a cool composure, but if his captive does not give him instantaneously and without hesitating a civil answer, his shrill voice hurls threats at him which, on a further denial, are at once put into effect. He looks on indifferently while prisoners are beaten and maimed before his eyes. His only cause for regret is

when the victim dies before being able to make a statement which is important to him. The thin line of his lips, raised towards the centre, betrays the cold calculator and his logical brutality—a pitiless man with no illusions. Every adversary of Himmler who has faced him, and met this expression, knows no more hope. The look and all it implies prove too clearly that in the soul of this being dwells no mercy, but only brutal purposefulness, the cold will to annihilate, and joy in the sufferings of his victim.'

Himmler once boasted to friends that he had read every book there was on the subject of the Russian Tscheka and the G.P.U; the Russians could teach him nothing; he would outdo the lot of them. And Himmler has made good this boast to such a degree that he is the chief of the concentration camp: a punishment the intention of which is unrelentingly to torture, humiliate and drive to suicide its subjects during the term of their sentence.

Nothing in the history of this man gives a hint of the source of his cruelty and persecution mania. He was born at Munich on the 7th of October, 1900, and grew up in good, homely and steady surroundings. Like the sons of all honest middle-class families, he was sent to High School (Gymnasium) and left there voluntarily in 1917 to join the 11th Bavarian Infantry Regiment as ensign. He did not distinguish himself in any way during the war, and after his return home showed no noteworthy inclinations. At first he tried, without success, to carry on his studies, and in 1922 entered the Nitrogen A.G. at Schleissheim. In the early post-war years he had practically nothing to do with politics, although his disposition took him far to the Right. He had to thank a chance encounter with Gregor Strasser for bringing him into contact with the National Socialist Party. Himmler, like Goebbels, was introduced to the Party by working as Strasser's secretary.

In 1926 Hitler decided to form in the so-called S.S. a private bodyguard, as a protection against the S.A. which had slipped from his grasp as a result of Röhm's plotting. The new troop must be the blindly devoted tool of the Führer. Entrants must comply with the standard of Frederick the First's bodyguard—height at least 6 feet 3 inches, of military education, and trustworthy. This new body was sworn to the 'Blood Flag' (*Blutfahne*) which had been carried by those who took part in the *putsch* before the Feldherrnhalle on the 9th of November, 1923. Their uniform was black from head to foot; the badge a death's head, and on the belt-clasp of every one of them were the words: *Meine Ehre ist Treue* ('My honour is loyalty').

Such is the S.S. (*Schutzstaffel*), the famous élite bodyguard of Hitler.¹

Hitler gave several men a trial as commander of this S.S., before Gregor Strasser succeeded in 1927 in procuring the post for his friend and private secretary, Heinrich Himmler. At first the position brought nothing with it, and as Himmler was a poor speaker and a still worse business man, in 1928 he retired to Waldtrudering to carry on poultry farming in a small way. He lived for the next two years in fairly complete obscurity. He was little noticed in his forest seclusion. But he was already employing his time as a born policeman and detective by slowly getting an insight into the private lives of his subordinates and the other Party members. He knew that Hitler must be flattered, Goering treated with excessive brutality; he recognised every weakness and exposed spot in his opponents, and he knew how to use to the best advantage all he had learnt. He took no unconsidered step but let time

¹ As a matter of interest it may be mentioned that in the foundation charter of this *Schutzstaffel*, among other of their duties the following is also mentioned: 'To solicit subscribers and advertisements for the *Völkische Beobachter*, and to bring new members to the Party.'

work for him. He attached himself more and more closely to Hitler, and understood only too well how to ply him with whispered slander about the Unterführer (subordinate leaders) and to make himself indispensable as a reliable secret agent.

Hitler had always wished to have accurate information concerning every move of his Unterführer and henchmen, for he is distrustful and jealous. Himmler supplied him at any hour or moment of the day with all the desired material. Even at the time when National Socialism was merely a rising movement and not a power in the State, Himmler kept, with fastidious neatness, a record regarding every influential politician—and every Party man for that matter. A record of their merits and demerits, of their most intimate private life, their views and utterances, their monetary situation and acquaintance. Naturally when the Party edifice was finished, this register of political description had grown and become more important in proportion. And, as is well known, the Gestapo to-day, under Himmler's control, has a record of the sins of all Party members and politicians in Germany. Nor is this all, for during the occupation of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Memel and Poland, it was amply shown that Himmler had secret information about the majority of opponents, refugees, and their associates who were living abroad.

The most characteristic thing about this man is that he endeavours as far as possible to remain in the background. He desires to be merely the puller of wires, the man with all power in his hands. He writes no books, makes no speeches, does not allow himself to be glorified; but he does all the work behind the scenes, and he is the man, as we shall see, whose power in Germany is growing from day to day, whilst the influence of many other leaders is conversely on the wane.

As already mentioned, Himmler was at first only the



HIMMLER IN VIENNA ON THE DAY AFTER THE ANNEXATION OF AUSTRIA,
WATCHED BY AUSTRIAN GENERALS.

Reichsführer of the S.S., Hitler's bodyguard which was appointed to be Germany's new 'nobility of the sword'. Himmler personally selects every member of this 'order of knighthood'. These S.S. men must be blind adherents to the Party, and must prove their Aryan descent back to 1750; but this alone does not govern their selection. They must also be perfectly healthy, powerful, daring and young. Himmler himself is said to undertake the work of examining the physical measurements of every candidate. The length of the thigh must bear a certain definite relation to the length of the lower leg, and fixed standards are laid down for chest measurement, height and weight. They are allowed to marry and have children, but they are never left in their home area. They change their station every two or three months lest they should make friendships with the townsfolk, and they must be prepared to be shifted any day.

All these regulations were made by Himmler as Reichsführer of the S.S. solely for this reason: to fashion Hitler's bodyguard into an élite corps and to intensify the Führer's glory. But when National Socialism came to power in January, 1933, Himmler was commissioned to take over the police force, at first in Munich, then in other cities, until step by step he came to be Polizeiminister for the whole of Germany, with the exception of Prussia. Prussia remained Goering's domain, where he was Prime Minister, Minister for Home Affairs, and, at first, chief of the Gestapo.

After the 30th of June, 1934, came the great struggle between Himmler and Goering for this final position of power. Himmler was victorious. On the 30th of June, 1934, Goering and Himmler had shared in the terrible work of butchering hundreds of their Party companions. But Goering was friendly with many whom Himmler caused to be arrested and shot; for Goering did not have

at his disposal that accurate knowledge of occurrences in the Party which his rival possessed. Himmler had been able forthwith to inform Hitler that such and such a traitor had been supported by Goering. No later than July, 1934, this fact decided matters. Goering was forced to relinquish the Prussian Home Ministry, and Himmler now penetrated into the Prussian Secret Police, and soon after became the absolute master of the whole German Police Force and the Gestapo.

Himmler may be biassed but he is by no means stupid. For the structure of the Gestapo is so exemplary that its leader must be unusually gifted, not only to have created this machine but also to continue to improve it from day to day. More and more he becomes the rising place-hunter, obsequious towards Hitler, and even where Big Business is concerned, but towards a freedom-loving people and towards every movement that does not correspond with his ideas—a brutal executioner. He knows that he dare not let even a hint of opposition arise for fear of hazarding the whole régime. Consequently the least attempt at a personal expression of opinion is crushed utterly and mercilessly. For Himmler knows the internal situation of Germany and the fragility of the system better than anyone else. He embodies the Fascist will to self-assertion in its most brutal form, and despatches with complete cold-bloodedness opponents in his own ranks as well as those outside. Incidentally, no less a person than Goering, when asked by someone to intercede for his friends, explained that to try to intercede for anyone upon whom Himmler had set his seal would only be to endanger one's own life.

Since 1935 Himmler's influence has been constantly on the increase. It was about this time that the German populace began to feel the darker side of National Socialism, and in place of celebrations and a sense of revival

came the grey, sober every-day. Himmler, unsparing of physical violence, opposed every revolt against this grey-ness. And the greater the growth of this internal opposition the mightier became Himmler's position. For the maintenance and defence of the system so far has only been possible through the finish of the political apparatus.

Himmler himself is fully conscious of his power and his influence. In the middle of 1937 he introduced himself at one of the training courses for the German corps of officers as commander-in-chief in the German civil war, appointed by Hitler. The *Neue Vorwärts* was in a position to print Himmler's speech on this occasion. He made it appreciated that in the event of a war the latent discontent at home could, in certain circumstances, influence military action in the field. He said:

‘In a future war we shall not only have the military front on land, the naval front at sea, the air force front overhead, but we shall have a fourth theatre of war—the Home Front. That is the base which we must keep healthy, healthy to bend or to break, for otherwise these three fighting fronts will once more receive a stab in the back.’

Himmler then gave an accurate description of the working system of his home front troops, which in its essentials tallies with the present-day organisation of the S.S. and the German police. A special section of the S.S. is the ‘Death's Head’ legion, which is commissioned to interfere with fists and weapons for the maintenance of order; it must also act in conjunction with the regular police, as a proper criminal police force, wherever danger may arise. This special group is itself subordinate to a small number of specially selected and qualified chief agents, the so-called ‘security police’ (*Sicherheitspolizei*), whose task it is to expose all plots, carry out immediate and bloody

at his disposal that accurate knowledge of occurrences in the Party which his rival possessed. Himmler had been able forthwith to inform Hitler that such and such a traitor had been supported by Goering. No later than July, 1934, this fact decided matters. Goering was forced to relinquish the Prussian Home Ministry, and Himmler now penetrated into the Prussian Secret Police, and soon after became the absolute master of the whole German Police Force and the Gestapo.

Himmler may be biassed but he is by no means stupid. For the structure of the Gestapo is so exemplary that its leader must be unusually gifted, not only to have created this machine but also to continue to improve it from day to day. More and more he becomes the rising place-hunter, obsequious towards Hitler, and even where Big Business is concerned, but towards a freedom-loving people and towards every movement that does not correspond with his ideas—a brutal executioner. He knows that he dare not let even a hint of opposition arise for fear of hazarding the whole régime. Consequently the least attempt at a personal expression of opinion is crushed utterly and mercilessly. For Himmler knows the internal situation of Germany and the fragility of the system better than anyone else. He embodies the Fascist will to self-assertion in its most brutal form, and despatches with complete cold-bloodedness opponents in his own ranks as well as those outside. Incidentally, no less a person than Goering, when asked by someone to intercede for his friends, explained that to try to intercede for anyone upon whom Himmler had set his seal would only be to endanger one's own life.

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measures, and restore order at any price. Linked to these two chief sections are the normal criminal police, the extraordinarily well accomplished *Schutzpolizei* (ordinary police), and finally even the S.A. which, however, as a Party corps is under the special superintendence of the S.S.

Himmler believes himself called upon not only to attend to the safe maintenance of the system but also to make it his duty to keep an eye on selection, in the sense of Rosenberg's racial theory of 'better blood'. The 'Black Corps' which he commands publishes its own paper and makes a special point of racial purity; the corps, moreover, keeps special black-lists of sins in the ranks of National Socialism. In a second speech which Himmler made at a leaders' meeting in the summer of 1937 he inveighed against perverted male friendships. He informed his hearers that, according to the lists of the 'Black Corps', active homosexuals in Germany numbered some forty thousand, and that there were over two million so-called passives who were led astray and misused by the former group. He put forward the motion that on the basis of his lists the death penalty should be introduced for the forty thousand active homosexuals, or at least a sentence of fifteen years' or more imprisonment; while the passives should be granted a probationary period under threat of imprisonment. Actually during the last few years the S.S. has waged a secret and unrelenting war against this class of immorality, although Himmler was not able to get his proposal passed at the leaders' meeting.

Himmler is cruel and brutal, and is, moreover, the champion of the idea that this cruelty and brutality is one of the best and most effective means of fighting and intimidation in the National Socialist armoury. He knows better than anyone that a great part of the senior population is against the régime. Therefore the most inhuman tor-

tures must be devised as punishment, so that every single opponent shall know what awaits him if he shows any aggression by an attempt on the life of a Party member, by a defensive attitude, or by merely grumbling.

The concentration camp invented by Goering, but devilishly improved upon by Himmler during the last six years, is, in his opinion, the most effective means of dealing with these dissenters and 'whiners'. The Gestapo has the power immediately to arrest any citizen against whom merely anonymous information (or indeed no information at all) is laid. Without any sentence—yes, without any lawful cause—anyone may be taken to a concentration camp or into 'custody'.

Intimidation! And the torture chambers of the Middle Ages as the most efficacious means for it!

This is Himmler's superb idea, employed as the most telling weapon against any move for freedom, any criticism, any remonstrance.

Numerous books have already been published dealing with Himmler's concentration camps and the methods used in them. There is not space here to depict the camps and their cruelties in detail, but something must be said regarding the way Himmler employs these establishments for extorting and gagging public opinion and for intimidation.

At the beginning of this chapter the notorious decree of Himmler is quoted, which unloosed the action against the Jews on the 10th of November, 1938. This decree and its accompanying inhuman cruelties aimed at a double effect:

1. After the murder in Paris of Herr vom Rath, secretary at the German Embassy, all opponents of the system at home and abroad should be given to understand that their deeds would be requited in a most terrible way on tens of thousands of blameless victims in Germany. It

was hoped by this means to create such an impression of terror and horror that any similar attempts would be given up out of compassion for those who were left behind at the mercy of this system.

2. Foreign States, by extra special tortures inflicted on those arrested, should be morally compelled to rescue by admitting over the frontier at least those languishing in concentration camps. For simultaneously with the measures themselves, the relatives of those arrested were informed that release could be granted if the interned left Germany.

As was expected, all relatives, and indeed people with no personal interest at all, strove with all the means at their disposal to shelter these unfortunates. This turn of the screw did succeed, for most countries, England and the U.S.A. in particular, opened their frontiers in a most generous manner through the knowledge of the sufferings of these completely blameless victims.

And how did Himmler carry out this extortion? Quite simply: prisoners were martyred in such a way that their outcry was heard the world over. Here are a few very brief facts, vouched for by thousands from personal experience, which show Himmler's measures in a proper light.

Those hostages, for instance, who after the 10th of November, 1938, were taken by train to the Dachau concentration camp, had to face during the whole of their fifteen-hour journey in cattle-trucks a glaring light. If their eyes showed any inclination to close, or their heads to sink, they immediately received one or more truncheon blows on the head until they collapsed. They had hardly recovered their senses when they were forced to face the glare again. They were given nothing to eat or drink, were not allowed to stir from their places and were not permitted to ease nature. The road from the station to the Dachau concentration camp was intentionally strewn with sharp

stones, and they had to traverse them on all fours, beaten incessantly by their escort. Some of the prisoners had already gone crazy on the journey, others had raving attacks and were shot; but their bodies were left in the trucks with the other prisoners.

In the prison itself these captives received only a thin drill suit with no overcoat, although it was the depth of winter. They had to stand, to report, for hours in snow, rain and cold, bareheaded and in many cases without boots or shoes; chills, pneumonia, particularly rheumatism were the lesser consequences. Many perished after only a few days.

All this was quite regular and applied to all prisoners. It would be unbearable even to describe the punishments which were laid on these poor people for the slightest offence, and that oftentimes a fabricated one. Relatives were made aware of all these horrors inflicted on fathers, husbands and brothers, and when Himmler estimated that this oppression would suffice to open the frontiers of the rest of the world to these blameless victims of a raging bestiality he was right.

Here is another example of extortion and intimidation as brought into play in the K.Z.'s (the German abbreviation for the concentration camps):

On a freezing cold winter's day in January, 1939, a tiler's mate (Aryan, but Communist) who had been at work on new buildings escaped out of the camp. When he was found to be missing at the roll-call in the evening all prisoners were ordered to assemble on the square in summer clothing as a punishment. For twenty-four hours, a whole night and a whole day, they had to stand motionless and at attention, exposed to icy winds. It was not until daybreak, after twelve hours of standing, that half-an-hour's rest was granted them, and this only after three of them had collapsed and died from cold and exhaustion.

This method was intended to cure the prisoners of all further desire to attempt escape. It showed them that they would only bring suffering to their comrades, and an amazing bond of fellowship existed among them. (The escaped prisoner was captured in the woods after a few days and brought back to the camp, where he vanished, never to be seen again.)

The concentration camp at Buchenwald supplies another example of what was intended to act as a deterrent and to intimidate. From the 10th of November all hot drinks were stopped, and also the scanty rations of margarine and marmalade which had been handed out daily to the prisoners. These measures remained in force for a week, although there was a much larger proportion of non-Jewish prisoners at Buchenwald who most certainly could not be held responsible for the murder of Herr vom Rath.

These and hundreds of other similar measures have proved that Herr Himmler's method was successful, in so far as the whole population that is not with National Socialism was so panic-stricken that any attempt at opposition or even protest in Germany could be excluded. For then, and no doubt to-day, a mere protest was sufficient to take the dissentients to the concentration camp.

Since Heinrich Himmler took over the responsibility for peace and security in Germany, one effect has made its appearance which had been known before in Russia perhaps but never in Germany. All trust between friends and even between near relations has been completely undermined. No German, at home or abroad, now trusts himself to voice any criticism of the National Socialist system, for he can never know whether just that person with whom he is speaking is in some form connected with the Gestapo as an *agent provocateur* or otherwise. The reaction of this on ethics and morals, on trust and truthfulness, need not be amplified.

There is no shadow of doubt that Himmler, in this and many other ways, has succeeded not only in dispersing all opposing organisations, but also in building up in the Third Reich a terrorising troop of such a kind that the outbreak of internal revolt in Germany, outside the Party, is hardly possible. For with his thousands upon thousands of agents he keeps his ear so finely attuned to the slightest whisper of the people by individuals spying on each other that he is frequently in a position to intercept and render abortive any contrary move before it can attain outward form at all. He is untiring, works day and night, receives reports and supplies them. He is always at Hitler's disposal when he needs him. Before the entry of the German troops he suddenly appeared in Vienna, the Sudetenland, Prague, and Memel; on the very first day after the troops had marched in he was conducting examinations of opponents and suspects with an army of Gestapo officials. He is literally omnipresent, and so far as concerns National Socialism omniscient.

It is no wonder that Hitler has unbounded confidence in Himmler. Nevertheless he is feared to the same extent by all the other National Socialist functionaries, by his own troop, by the mass of the population, and above all by his opponents. He is one of those few who, in the present Germany, are acquiring more power and importance from day to day, and, when once he opens his secret archives and deems that the time has come to speak out, he has it in his power to thrust aside or to destroy every inconvenient Party member, however important he may be at the moment. It is not fully known in Germany, still less abroad, what a State within a State is this of Himmler's, his incomparably constructed organisation of the Gestapo. So far Himmler has been Hitler's eyes and ears. He and his 'knighthood' are the Führer's unconditional and boundlessly devoted servants. But Himmler's power in

Germany is now so vast that Hitler himself would have need to be afraid if he could not rely absolutely on his bodyguard and its general. For Himmler is the real power in the State, overshadowing the army, overshadowing diplomacy, overshadowing even the most important councillors and friends of Hitler, for the details he has in his records would suffice any day, should the circumstances and the need arise, to produce a repetition of that fatal 30th of June, 1934.

THE SIXTH APOSTLE

*Dr. Ley,
the Jailer of the German Working Classes*

ON THE 8TH OF JUNE, 1933, the seventeenth International Labour Conference was in session in the great hall at Geneva when Dr. Ley entered and the cry went up, 'Jailer of the German Workers!' His *tour de force* which, on the 2nd of May, 1933, had led to the destruction of the free German trade unions, lay too fresh in the memory of these delegates, for the most part Social Democrats, who had come from all over the world.

Even after Hitler's seizure of power in the spring of 1933 the German workers had carried on their political life. The parties of the Left had come through the March elections with only a slight loss of votes, and the trade unions were working in an exemplary manner in seeking to organise resistance to National Socialism. For this reason Hitler decided, in the last days of April, to deliver the lawful representation of the working classes into the hands of the Party: his recipe was an old one: force. Dr. Ley, a fighter, tried in countless *Saalschlachten*, and one of the most ruthless of his followers, seemed to be a suitable man to carry the business through.

A few days before the 1st of May, 1933, the leaders, provincial and otherwise, of the National Socialist industrial organisations, were called by telegram and telephone to the Party centre at Munich. Here they met Dr. Ley, and he disclosed his plans: their simplicity and effectiveness had been proved on other occasions. On an agreed day all

the offices and other premises of free trade unions were to be occupied by heavily armed bands of S.A. men; all payments were to be suspended; the most prominent leaders were to be arrested. If any forceful resistance was offered they were to go to work in a ruthless, bloody way. He wanted suitable men from the National Socialist Party to be in readiness to be placed in each trade union organisation. Lightning action must be taken in the whole of the Reich at a given word.

Hitler had declared a national holiday for the 1st of May: the workers must be won over for the Third Reich.

‘Honour the Worker and you honour your People’!

‘Honour work and respect the worker’!

On this day such and suchlike transparencies were flaunted by the National Socialists to arouse the idea that the régime was really friendly towards the workers. But a day later, when the May Day holiday had taken its course in comparative quiet, the reverse of the picture was presented with startling suddenness.

On the night of the 1st and 2nd of May Hitler had empowered his subordinate Ley to destroy the free trade unions. A telegram went out to all the service posts of the National Socialist Industrial Organisations. Precisely at 10 A.M. on the 2nd of May armoured cars and lorries drove up to all trade union meeting places and offices. Loaded machine-guns were set up, and these mercenaries burst in with drawn revolvers and hand-grenades. Dr. Ley reserved for himself the privilege of driving to the trade union headquarters in Berlin. He was armed to the teeth and accompanied by a following of his closest friends and a whole pack of S.A. men. The doors were shut in his face, but after a short hand-to-hand fight the place was stormed. Here, as in all other trade union premises, the officials were arrested and at once severely beaten and dragged off.

The first consideration was, however, the trade union funds: all available cash was immediately seized (although it did not all reach its intended destination), and payments were suspended. The telephone exchanges were also occupied; and up went the swastika flag wherever there was a hint of a trade union.

From that day independent and elective trade unions have ceased to exist in Germany. The representatives of the working classes are now arbitrarily appointed Party men of the National Socialist Party.

Dr. Ley did not consider it worth while to excuse a procedure which had already been used with such success elsewhere. He did certainly call together the German Press representatives, but his explanation as given by this assentient mouthpiece is anything but a justification:

‘It might be said that we could have debated the matter,’ he explained, ‘but one does not argue with Marxists. We have watched the actions of the trade union leaders much too long. We shall preserve, uphold, protect, and provide whatever is of any worth to the working people. Our proceedings are not a matter of a single line of action, but of a great revolutionary movement of the whole Party. Gentlemen! The second phase of the National Socialist revolution began to-day.’

The first measures of this National Socialist revolution were simple enough. Funds amounting to many millions of marks were seized; the Press of the trade unions was brought into line.

By citing cases of untrustworthiness all the funds of the Social Democratic party, the Reichsbanner, and a whole crowd of organisations were confiscated. Everywhere the whole heavily armed muster was summoned, police, the S.S. and S.A., and all streets and works were occupied and patrolled. This was done with a view to nipping in the bud, with bloodshed if necessary, any outburst of disgust

among the working classes. There were cases of serious collisions, but an unarmed worker is too weak. He must pay for any attempt at mutiny with his life or the concentration camp; no mercy is shown.

Nevertheless this seething disgust lasted for some weeks before it calmed down. There were protests from abroad, the prestige of the new régime sank again, and this internal crisis seemed to be paramount for a time. But the rifles and bayonets of the police and Party troops were mightier than the disgust of the working classes.

And now on the 8th of June, 1933, at the session of the International Labour Conference in Geneva, the gibe 'Jailer of the German Workers' was thrown in Ley's face. There his bayonets helped him not a jot, and Dr. Ley and Germany with him was forced to retire from the work of the International Labour Office. Germany, after a heated exchange, was compelled to announce this retirement officially. Dr. Ley allowed himself one more utterance at Geneva. He explained that the German labour representatives had no occasion to let themselves be insulted and treated as mere nobodies by people whose fathers and grandfathers had only lately been enticed out of the jungle with bananas——

Who is this notorious Dr. Ley, whose lot it was to be described as the jailer of the German workers? He is one of the most brutal and successful of Hitler's henchmen. But he is also the creator of the German Labour Front. The interior organisation and structure of the Third Reich is inconceivable without him. It was he who in 1925 dealt with the early organisation of the N.S.D.A.P., and he was also the originator of the famous and infamous 'Strength through Joy' (*Kraft durch Freude*) movement.

It is no accident that Ley, too, like Goering and Hess, is one of the war-time air pilots. This company of men—audacious, prepared for anything, contemptuous of danger

—was of the very stamp needed by Hitler's Party. And, apart from this, Dr. Ley is one of those who have at least studied, and who are consequently classed as the 'intellectuals' of the Party.

Like so many others in power in the N.S.D.A.P., he comes from the mining area on the right bank of the Rhine, but close to the French frontier. He was born on the 15th of February, 1890, and so is barely ten months younger than Hitler. Although a farmer's son, he was sent to a high school at Elberfeld and afterwards studied the chemistry of foodstuffs at the universities of Jena, Bonn, and Münster. His studies were hardly finished when war broke out, and Ley immediately reported himself at Strassburg as a volunteer for active service. In 1917 he got into the Air Force. But his activities as a war pilot were far less glorious than those of Goering. He was shot down twice, first in the spring of that year near Arras, and then at the end of July on the Flanders front, when he was taken prisoner by the French. He was severely wounded.

One can deny Dr. Ley much, but this much must be said, he possesses beyond all doubt two qualities, courage and self-sacrifice. The wound was located in his leg and the opinion was that it should be amputated. But Ley, who knew that in the circumstances it was a matter of life or death, refused to lose his leg. He was operated on six times until finally the leg was considered as saved. In 1920 he left captivity in France to return to the Rhineland, still on crutches, and after some time he succeeded in getting a position as a chemist in the Wiesdorf works of the I.G. Farben.

Dr. Ley was driven by two motives to interest himself quite early on in the activities of the National Socialist Party; he was a fanatical anti-Semite and an ardent nationalist. Both these points squared precisely with Hitler's actions, and without coming into any closer contact

with him, and in fact without joining the Party at all at first, Ley began to build up his own organisation on Hitler's lines. During the Hitler trials of the spring of 1924 the scanty but trusty National Socialists in Cologne noticed that someone unknown was agitating in their favour in the mining area. Then Dr. Ley appeared at one of those modest meetings of the Party (it was prohibited at the time) in Cologne and asked for a word. He was recognised as the unknown agitator and immediately appointed to a leading position.

The stories about the frays in which Dr. Ley has taken part are countless. For he is even more of a brawler than an orator and an organiser. The Rhineland was the very region where the Party was particularly weak at that time, and this was not only because the population was predominantly Socialist or Communist but also because the French in this partially occupied area kept a weather-eye open to any activities of the National Socialists. In 1925 Ley was appointed regional leader and Hitler's deputy in the Rhineland, and he too held that basic principle of National Socialist faith, that National Socialist ideas can be better imparted to vacillating adherents by the fist and the beer mug than by pertinent argument and intellectual weapons.

A National Socialist biography of Dr. Ley, written under the pseudonym of 'Role', must here be quoted with a view to throwing proper light on the fighting methods of the National Socialists, and of Dr. Ley in particular:

'Experience in the Rhineland quickly showed that only savage fighting and ruthless intrepidity impressed the Red pack. In this area, whence the National Socialists had once been ejected, it was a hard task to make headway.'

And a few lines further on 'Role' gives a clear picture of how this brutal struggle was waged. At a meeting a Communist had dared to utter derogatory words about Hitler.

'And then he attacked the Führer,' writes 'Role', 'it was shameful, mean! The handful of National Socialists leaped up pale as death. The chairman's bell was drowned in roars of laughter. It was the moment to make a decision; now or never. It is not nice to be soundly thrashed, but to be made mock of is unbearable. And to allow the Führer to be made the butt of coarseness is dishonourable into the bargain. Dr. Ley overturned the table and his short arms, strong as steel, closed on his opponent. Before the meeting knew what was happening the lanky bully [the Communist speaker] was hurled from the platform into the hall. There was a roar of hundreds of voices, the hall was wrecked, then a Hitler song resounded through the place. Whoever wished to be a leader in those days had to be an example. He had to know how to make an impression.'

Still another description of Ley's activities at that time is typical.

'Ley was due to speak at a Communist meeting. Every attempt to get a word in was lost amid angry shouts and ribald laughter. Robert Ley stood alone among the turbulent mob and boiled with pent-up fury. A Communist leader stood on a table facing and with a mocking grin on his face conducted the "Internationale". *This sort of opposition was harder to swallow than the most crafty arguments.* Suddenly the door opened and in the aperture appeared unexpectedly twenty-two Aachen S.A. men. In a split second Ley had the Communist leader by the throat and hurled him from the table on to the floor. *Heil Aachen! Heil Hitler!* National Socialist fists then proceeded to preserve respect for the swastika in its white field on a blood-red ground.

'So Ley was hoisted on to a table by the victors and had his say after all. He looked utterly exhausted, and one of his coat-sleeves was completely torn out. When he left in

company with this escort there were many around him who had not been there before.'

This description is extraordinarily typical of the arguments with which National Socialism canvassed for supporters. It was not, forsooth, convincing speeches that could impress a certain type of human being, on the contrary. Pertinent exposition was of purely secondary importance: it was for the most part even harmful. But Hitler's adherents were primarily concerned in proving that, given a certain numerical superiority, they could win a victory with their fists: and they were already finding the support they had marched out to win.

'Role', however, is proud of this sort of warfare and ventures on a comparison that would be laughable if it were not blasphemous: 'One measures the greatness of the idea by the struggle of those days, and one draws comparisons such as this modest fighter never dared—of crowns of thorns, catacombs, and religious martyrs.'

Dr. Ley was imprisoned a host of times by the French and Prussian courts for his deeds of violence. The last occasion was in 1932, when he almost throttled the Social Democrat leader Otto Wels and in any case seriously injured him, and broke a beer-bottle over the Social Democrat Baumknecht's head.

This was one side of Dr. Ley's arguments, and his followers were specially proud of it. The other side consisted of unbridled anti-Semitism. During his military service Ley had forcefully distinguished himself by his anti-Semitism and intolerance towards his Jewish comrades. This tendency intensified during the time of his activities at the I.G. Farben works. He naturally did not rest content with making attacks on Jews in general, but his persistent and point-blank hatred was for the Jewish members of big business and high finance. One of the chairmen of the I.G. Farben was the well-known banker

Warburg. Ley, the lowly employé at the works, not only failed to check his anti-Semitic thrusts for a director, but made a special point of attacking him in his speeches and articles. This was too much for the management. They first gave Ley a warning, but when his attacks on Warburg became still more violent they issued an ultimatum. He was either to cease his attacks or to resign. For a long time Ley tried to postpone the issue by procrastination and argument, but his onslaughts continued and he was dismissed.

Although Dr. Ley passes as an 'intellectual' yet he goes so far in his anti-Semitism as to place in the foreground the ridiculous legend of ritual murder. In 1928, when he was in the Prussian Diet as a deputy for the Hitler group, and soon afterwards when he entered the Reichstag as one of the first twelve, he championed the ritual murder fairy-tale, and even came into considerable conflict with the Zentrum and the Church. They contended in opposition to Dr. Ley that the publications relating to alleged ritual murder should come under the law against obscenity.

As a personal characteristic of Dr. Ley it is also important to record that he is labelled as the greatest toper in the Party. Not only does his biographer 'Role' say that he is best found in the ale-house from which the loudest laughter issues, but it is also common knowledge in the Party that when Ley is urgently wanted all that is necessary to produce him is to ring up his favourite taverns. Although he is married, and, as an organiser of the German Labour Front is busy day in and day out, he is hardly ever to be found at home in the evening or early hours of the night: he is always at some inn or another. It has repeatedly happened that not only has Ley had to be brought home dead drunk in his service car but also he has even attended important Party meetings not entirely sober. Since, however, in the Party drinking is a peculiarity which, even if it is carried to excess, does not in any case cast a slur on the

offender, Dr. Ley's love of beer and wine has aided rather than injured his reputation. The saying is that when he is deep in his cups Dr. Ley can bargain more forcefully and use more striking (in the true sense of the word) arguments.

It was understandable that these two characteristics of Dr. Ley, his 'striking' arguments and his anti-Semitism, were special merits in the eyes of the National Socialists. Consequently he was time and again promoted, and his career in the movement progressed by leaps and bounds.

In 1928, as previously noted, he was already a National Socialist deputy. In 1931 he became Reichs inspector of the political organisation of the N.S.D.A.P., in 1932, after Strasser's resignation, Reichs organisation leader (*Reichsorganisationleiter*) of the Party, and in March, 1933, a member of the Prussian State council (*Staatsrat*). On the 5th of May, 1933—three days, that is, after the forcible occupation of the trade union premises—Ley became leader of the newly founded German Labour Front (*Arbeitsfront*). In November, 1933, the holiday organisation 'Strength through Joy' (*K.d.F.*) was called into being by Dr. Ley after the example of the Italian *Dopolavoro* movement. This forms at present one of the most cogent arguments of the N.S.D.A.P. for demonstrating that the situation of the workers in Germany is favourable, and that they stand firmly behind the Government. More will be said about this later, however.

Saalschlachten and anti-Semitism alone would not have sufficed to make Dr. Ley one of the most powerful of Hitler's representatives. His chief service to the Party lies in the creation of the first Party organisation, and that at a time when disorganisation and disputes of separate groups threatened to place any success of the movement in jeopardy.

In April, 1931, Ley was appointed to the Party leadership for the Reich at Munich to put into order the chaotic con-



DR. LIY (right) IN CONVERSATION WITH GENERAL VON BRAUCHITSCH.

dition of the individual cells in the Reich. He visited all the important towns, held appeal courts for the *Amtswalter* (Party delegates), entertained hints and proposals, which he then sought to reduce to a unified form. He actually succeeded in compiling the first service rules for the political organisation of the Party which became the basis of all its future work. Ley's work here caused Hitler, in the spring of 1933, to commission him to bring the workers within the scope of the Party and to produce a compulsory organisation which would make the N.S.D.A.P. certain, outwardly at any rate, to pass as representative of the working classes, even as it thought it could attempt to do for the agricultural class and other occupational groups.

Dr. Ley mastered this task by exactly the same methods as had in his time wrested success in the *Saalschlachten*: by ruthless violence and the brutal oppression of all opposition wherever it was met. It was simply decreed from above that the sole legal representation of the German workers was the N.S.B.O., the National Socialist industrial organisation which is dependent on the German Labour Front (*Arbeitsfront*) as a superior trade union.

Just as in the Soviet so in the Reich, the free trade unions thereby became purely State—and, relatively speaking, Party offices. One cannot speak of a free election for the simple reason that neither Christian nor Social Democratic nor Communist representatives may be nominated; every movement of a non-National Socialist tendency is most rigorously repressed and persecuted by the Gestapo.

In spite of this, both to keep down any attempt at a counter-movement, and to compel all the workers to join the German Labour Front is a task which most certainly requires the brutal energy of a Dr. Ley and the unrestrained help of the State executive and Party troops. People abroad are often astonished, and well they may be, that Christianity, Socialism, and Communism are still alive

among the German workers, and yet they remain quiet, and even join the Labour Front. But this is not really to be wondered at; for every worker who does not become a member of the German Labour Front must either end his days in a concentration camp or starve. In the German industries only men who are members of the Labour Front are taken on, and unemployment relief may only be paid out to members of the Labour Front. Strikes are strictly forbidden and are penalised by long terms of imprisonment. Every tendency to a different kind of organisation is prosecuted and punished as high treason.

It would be wrong, however, to represent Dr. Ley's task, especially in 1933, as simple. The trades were seething and turbulent. In National Socialism the working classes saw their mortal enemy. Not only did they fear persecution and heavy penalties for their former membership of the parties of the Left, but also they had to expect mass dismissals and increased unemployment.

Nothing like this happened. Fierce as were his proceedings among the former leaders of the workers, he was just as much at pains to spare the rank and file, and to win them over to the N.S.D.A.P. by considerable concessions. It was not possible to imprison and punish the eleven millions who, on the 5th of March, 1933, had voted for the Social Democrats and Communists, for they amounted to almost a half of the whole working population. One could not deprive them of the rights they had won by bitter fighting, for if one did, the struggles, which apart from this were manifold and vexing enough, would become even more bloody and terrible. It was Dr. Ley who in this sense interceded for the worker, and in this way ushered in at last a superficial pacification. Dr. Ley it was, too, who opposed the plans of the extremists, who had stormily demanded that the social-political institutions should be completely destroyed or delivered up to the State. Let there be no mis-

understanding. Dr. Ley carried through all these measures for the protection of the workers, not out of any conciliatory spirit towards the late supporters of the other parties, but with the sole purpose of sparing the Hitler régime further complications which would have been immeasurable.

The way in which he aimed at heading off the masses corresponds for the rest exactly with the methods which were employed by National Socialism on all other occasions. In the spring of 1933 he held mass meetings in which he enlightened 'the workers' regarding his objects. The audience naturally consisted almost entirely of S.A. men and members of the National Socialist industrial organisation present to order. Really grotesque errors occurred on occasion because of this. In the wholly industrialised district of Beuthen the National Socialist organisations had drummed up only some fifty thousand 'workers', whereas in a Silesian agricultural area they suffered the misfortune of having collected almost five hundred thousand men who marched up as workers!

The real representation of the trade unions was completely destroyed by Dr. Ley. Of the previous central organisation only the skeleton remained, where previously double organisations had been in existence they were now fused and the management thoroughly and violently occupied by National Socialists. Even the old designation vanished as a matter of course. Instead of the *Gewerkschaftszentrale* (central trade union) there was the *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* (German Labour Front), where the warlike element was stressed. This *Deutsche Arbeitsfront* incorporates fourteen companies which are composed of twelve 'workers' columns' and two 'clerical columns.' Each of these columns corresponds to a certain branch of labour. At the head of all these organisations, under Dr. Ley's personal leadership, is a small labour convention (*Arbeits-*

konvent). The representatives of the different columns form a great *Arbeitskonvent*. The only active representative of the workers is the National Socialist trades organisation (N.S.B.O.), which is naturally composed of only picked Party members. Even for these sworn followers the measures of the Government and the employers against the working classes have occasionally been too severe. If they intervene for the rights of their comrades they are at once shut up in a concentration camp, the same treatment as was meted out previously to the Social Democrats and Communists. Dr. Ley did not dare to admit the workers into the Party; this would have raised the spectre of disintegration within the pure Party organisation. Consequently as early as the spring of 1933 the admission of new members into the Party was barred and the workers were only forced to enter the German Labour Front.

It was Dr. Ley who supported with all his energies the plans of Hitler, Goering, and Schacht for combating unemployment by introducing general conscription in Germany, and switching German industry completely over to armaments. A rapid absorption of unemployed was only made possible by the entry of the State as employer and customer. It was Dr. Ley, too, who backed up Goering before the Four-Year Plan was drawn up, when he insisted that German industry should, as far as possible, produce substitute materials. For by the production of *Buna* (artificial rubber), *Wistra* and *Wollstra* (fabrics made of wood yarn), artificial silk, and other substitute products, millions of workers were and would be required who would never have been accommodated in normal processes. The fortification works were not counted on, and so to-day unemployment is non-existent in Germany, and there is even a dearth of skilled workers.

It is difficult to estimate how far the activities of Dr. Ley have really converted the workers to National Socialism.

The former members of the German Social Democratic and Communist parties who have fled their country are of the opinion that at least 50 per cent of the German workers continue to be against the system, and that they are only held down by the truncheons of the Gestapo and cannot bestir themselves because they have no weapons. The National Socialists admit that some 5 to 10 per cent of the working class still stand 'aloof from Hitler'. Probably one should split the difference, which would mean that some 20 to 30 per cent are sharply opposed to the system. Only about 20 per cent of the workers may be regarded as adherents of the N.S.D.A.P.; the remainder are at the best indifferent and are not dissatisfied so long as they have paid work. While rearmament on its present scale continues they have this paid work; but disarmament or merely a more peaceful policy in Germany is so extraordinarily difficult because the Hitler régime would immediately be forced to reckon with mass unemployment, which would arouse the masses with a jolt, and disgust them with the National Socialist rule.

One could say much more regarding the various attempts, partly unsuccessful, to increase efficiency and to lengthen hours. The only weapon that still remains to the workers is a kind of passive resistance. In recent months repeated use has been made of this weapon, and it has been the only one to prove its effectiveness against the fresh demands of the Government. To-day it is not the entrepreneur who is the workers' enemy, but the Government. The entrepreneur himself is oftentimes only one of the sufferers under the new labour legislation, having no rights, but only duties, and consequently often being no longer a supporter of the system but a mute ally of the workers' groups ranged against the Government.

There is much more important and interesting information one could give regarding the organisation of labour

and the situation of the working classes in Germany, but the whole of this question would need to be treated apart from the theme of Dr. Ley.

There is only one thing more to relate concerning the Labour Front and Dr. Ley's activities in connection with it, and that is the 'Strength through Joy' (*K.d.F.*) movement, already referred to, which has been introduced into Germany by him. It originates, as has likewise been mentioned, in the Russian and Italian models. The object of this movement is by no means only for the pleasure or relaxation of the workers: it has political aims, too. Although the controlled German Press, the radio, the theatre, meetings and statements, night and day hammer the National Socialist arguments into the workers, the effect of this propaganda is too general. In Russia and in Italy it has been proved very advantageous to lay hold on certain groups of the population by individual treatment; the 'Strength through Joy' movement affords an exceptionally good opportunity for this.

Small groups of German workers are sent travelling; they are led by trusted N.S. propagandists. Work on individuals may be proceeded with more easily and effectively during a week or a fortnight's close proximity than by impersonal newspaper articles and radio talks. Visits are made to places and regions which offer the chance of putting the activities of the Hitler government in a particularly favourable light. Places of entertainment are visited where patriotic speeches may be listened to over a glass of beer or a glass of wine. It is, however, always seen to that the whole group is strictly under the control of its leader, and that only such influences become effective as are acceptable to those in power.

The same thing applies to visits to the theatre, promoted by the *K.d.F.*, and to holidays and celebrations, social evenings, and sports meetings, all of which are under the

auspices of National Socialist institutions. These various arrangements serve to render the individual participants specially susceptible to propaganda, so that on their return, snowball-wise, they make their comrades share in this more intensive cultivation.

This movement, too, stops the workers from being left too much to themselves in their spare time. The more the individual, in his amusement and leisure, is under the constant supervision of propaganda, the less time is left to him to think and to embark along lines of his own.

Finally another consideration comes into play; the masses are given the impression that the National régime supplies not only bread but amusements. *Panem et circenses* was the old Roman slogan, which has been taken to heart by Dr. Ley in this modern manipulation of the masses. It is grotesque that the German worker often rebels against this kind of curtailment of his own life, and yet is repeatedly forced to 'Strength through Joy' gatherings, and to participate in mass marches, demonstrations, and meetings.

This does not alter the fact that Dr. Ley has succeeded in this way in bringing the German working class completely under his control. It is beside the point that his earlier methods in the *Saalschlachten*, the brutal fist and the point of the bayonet, have made this success possible.

THE SEVENTH APOSTLE

*Joachim von Ribbentrop,
Commercial Traveller for National Socialism*

11th March, 1938.

Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Minister, has given an audience to the German Foreign Minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, for the third time in two days. Ribbentrop, who has been Foreign Minister only for the last five weeks, is endeavouring to convince the British Minister in lengthy discussions that affairs between Germany and Austria are an internal and purely German question and that Great Britain has no right to take steps against the Third Reich, in company with France, for the National Socialists in Austria have been obliged to apply to Hitler for help against Schuschnigg.

ON THE PREVIOUS day Lord Halifax had already warned the German Government, but on the 11th of March Ribbentrop had again insisted on conferences with him, in the morning and in the afternoon: and he was at great pains to make the discussions as lengthy as possible. He went on advancing new arguments and objections, and Lord Halifax was most grossly impeded in any freedom of action by his presence, and for hours had no opportunity for receiving other far more insistent pronouncements.

In these very hours which were to decide the fate of Austria, and perhaps of all Central Europe, Baron Franckenstein, the Austrian Ambassador in London, had repeatedly sought admission to Lord Halifax—but in vain.

Urgent telegrams one after the other sped from Vienna

to London entreating Franckenstein to procure immediate action by the British Government. Three ultimatums had been addressed to the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Schuschnigg. The entry of the German troops was officially announced. The National Socialists at Vienna were, with Seiss-Inquart's help, preparing a *putsch* for the Austrian Government.

But Ribbentrop was with Lord Halifax, and talked and talked incessantly. He thus prevented Baron Franckenstein from making one last move with the English Government, and he prevented the British Foreign Office from coming to an immediate understanding with the French Foreign Minister. During those decisive hours on March the 11th, 1938, he protected the German Government, as with his own body, against any last-minute resolution of the British Government. He furnished assurances and explanations of peaceful intentions, spoke of the final aims of German foreign policy, and mentioned matters important and quite unimportant.

But he attained his immediate object: during these fateful hours, Baron Franckenstein was not able to see the British Foreign Minister. Thus Joachim Freiherr von Ribbentrop, the German Foreign Minister, employed the same tactics as would a commercial traveller, perhaps, when he knows that one of his rivals is at the door waiting for an interview with his customer. He intends to tire the customer out, and so make things impossible for the man on the doorstep.

The comparison in this case is not too far fetched, for Joachim von Ribbentrop, the Foreign Minister of the Great German Reich, was once a commercial traveller, or more exactly an agent for champagnes. The many journeys he has made in the service of Hitler, his employer in political wares, have brought him, in Germany, the designation 'The commercial traveller of National Social-

ism'; and in England, after a caricature in *Punch*, the nickname 'The wandering Aryan'.

He is a former army officer, and after the collapse of Germany in 1918 he was for a time compelled to earn his living as a commercial traveller. There is no disgrace in this; on the contrary. The profession as such is probably much better and more lucrative than many others which the stranded officers of a lost war had to choose. But when certain accompaniments of the calling are converted for use in handling the policy of eighty-million Germans, it is not so good. Even if his wares were the subject of the keenest competition a good agent would have respect enough for his profession not to offend against good faith. There are, however, unfortunate exceptions who place a higher value on their chance of an order than on good faith, and so offend against good business morality.

This more doubtful side of an agent's calling was introduced by Ribbentrop into the policy of the Great German Reich, and since Neurath's retirement from office in the Wilhelmstrasse at Berlin, the principle of good faith has been repeatedly eliminated from German policy. On the other hand Ribbentrop has brought with him into politics many other very useful qualities of his calling. He knows accurately the market, his wares, and the demand, he has his representatives, scouts and informants everywhere. He knows the strength and the weaknesses of his competitors, and finally he knows, to a split second, the psychological moment for landing his catch.

The policy of this man could only make headway as long as others had not fully recognised and properly sized-up the new tactics.

Ribbentrop was appointed German Foreign Minister on the 4th of February, 1938.

On the 12th of March, 1938, Austria was annexed.

On the 30th of September, 1938, Czechoslovakia relin-

quished the Sudetenland on the basis of the Munich agreement.

On the 15th of March, 1939, Czechoslovakia was occupied by German troops.

On the 22nd of March, 1939, Memelland fell into the hands of the German troops.

On the 23rd of August, 1939, Herr von Ribbentrop signed the non-aggression pact with Russia at Moscow. This was not only to open Germany's way to Poland but also to free her from the embrace of antagonistic states and make any war pointless.

On the 1st of September, 1939, backed up by this treaty, the German march into Poland started, and just over a fortnight later it had resulted in the complete destruction of Poland and the meeting of National Socialist and Red troops in its very heart.

Ribbentrop was able to accomplish all this successfully on the basis of confidential information regarding the political temper abroad.

Ribbentrop has not only successfully completed his studies in the school of commercial travelling; he is also a past-master in espionage and the art of reconnoitring. His tutor in this science was none other than Herr von Papen, the former German Reichschancellor. Herr von Ribbentrop has yet another accomplishment to which few other of Hitler's confidants can lay claim: apart from his mother tongue, he has at his command perfect English and French, and passable Italian and Russian.

Joachim von Ribbentrop, like most men of the Führer's circle, is comparatively young. He was born in 1893 in Wesen, close to the German-Netherland frontier; not quite forty-five, therefore, when he became Foreign Minister. His parents were middle-class, his ancestors were soldiers, landowners and officials. This branch of the family did not belong to the nobility, so Joachim was not

'Freiherr' by birth. He realised betimes the value of rank in a German career, and got himself adopted by a titled uncle who was a general and bore the same name.

Ribbentrop's parents and relations, living as they did near the frontier, anticipated the importance of languages to a young man who intended to make headway outside the run of the ordinary official. Consequently Ribbentrop did not pass through the normal grammar school and university but was sent to Switzerland, afterwards to an English college, and finally to a school in Grenoble to perfect himself in the most widely current languages. At the age of eighteen he went to Canada, where he first practised as a draughtsman in Quebec, and then as a sort of assistant engineer in building a bridge over the St. Lawrence. He stayed in Canada for three whole years until, in August 1914, he had news of the outbreak of war. Making up his mind quickly, Ribbentrop sought to return to Germany to continue the not altogether inglorious career of his ancestors in the field. He made a risky flight into America in the course of which he took a bucket in his hand and walked over the frontier behind a bricklayer who was at work close by. He succeeded in getting aboard a Dutch steamer to take him home. It is rumoured that the vessel was held up on the high seas by a British warship and search was made for German passengers or crew, but Ribbentrop buried himself under the coal in the coal-bunkers and so evaded discovery. When they reached their English port of call he was able to hide himself, and so after manifold difficulties eventually crossed the German frontier in the autumn of 1914. He immediately reported himself as a volunteer for active service, and joined the 12th Regiment of Hussars, but was attached to the General Staff in 1915 and assigned a special position in the military mission at New York. For the second time during the war he crossed the Atlantic,

this time in a submarine. In New York he found that his superior (apart from the ambassador, Herr von Bernstorff) was Herr von Papen, the German military attaché. At that time von Papen not only had the task of informant regarding the military preparations of the U.S.A., but he was appointed chiefly to impede the supply of American arms to the Western entente as much as possible by his activities. Numerous acts of sabotage were perpetrated under Papen's orders to make the production of arms and munitions more difficult. Munition factories were damaged, a bridge blew up just as munitions transport was crossing it, the town of Halifax was largely blown to atoms by the explosion of a ship with a cargo of explosives. In these and many other cases German *saboteurs* were at work. The task of reconnoitring munition factories and transport fell to Ribbentrop. Although he was officially employed at the embassy in Washington, his activities had nevertheless much in common with those of a spy.

Pressure from the American Government brought about Papen's recall a few months after Ribbentrop's arrival. How part of Papen's luggage was stolen on board ship and Germany's secret organisation in America thereby revealed, is told in another chapter.

Shortly after this Ribbentrop returned to Europe. At first he went back to the front, but was soon placed under Papen again who now had a special political mission to Turkey. Papen's chief plan at that time was for Turkey, with German aid, to open an offensive on the Suez canal, and so cut the life-line of English shipping. Ribbentrop sought to the best of his ability to support Papen's plan, but the German General Staff were unsympathetic. According to one account Ribbentrop is supposed to have saved his superior at the last moment from imprisonment, and probably from death at the hands of the British.

On the collapse of the Central Powers Ribbentrop re-

turned to Germany as captain. Like most German officers, he saw his career destroyed. At first the way to England or the Dominions was barred to him because he had fled from Canada and plotted against English interests. He did not wish to remain in Germany, and so he attempted to put his linguistic talent to good account by turning to France.

His appearance stood him in good stead in the occupation he now chose, that of a champagne agent. He was tall, slim and handsome, cultured and charming, a good speaker, dancer and musician, and he had intellect and wit. Although he had been a German officer he took care to divorce himself from their habits in his new profession; he wore no monocle and did not click his heels. In France he accommodated himself from the first to the customs of the country, as he did later in England as ambassador. Moreover, as he had perfect command of several languages, good connections, and a title, he was soon engaged by the firm of Pommery and Greno at Rheims as their traveller and representative. His business was not in France alone, it took him to Germany too, where, after the collapse, many circles were seized by a regular whirl of gaiety in connection with the depreciation of the mark. He was a good agent, did good business, and therefore appreciably harassed the German champagne makers as a rival. A few months after being appointed by the French firm, he became acquainted with Otto Henckel, the noted German champagne maker (Henckel-Trocken) who quickly decided to engage him as agent for his own firm. Not very long afterwards this charming young aristocrat Ribbentrop visited Otto Henckel's house privately. There he met Henckel's daughter, Käthe, and fell in love with her. The marriage took place in 1920, and the bride's father took his former agent into the firm as partner, with the proviso that Ribbentrop should henceforth be the firm's representative, in France in particular. Ribbentrop

had extra good connections in France arising out of his former activities, and he succeeded in selling German hocks in France, the classic champagne country—a thing considered to be impossible.

From this moment his financial situation altered radically, for Herr von Ribbentrop became joint owner of the Henckel cellars. He first bought a villa in the Rhineland, but then moved to Berlin, where he purchased a fine country house in the suburb of Dahlem. He presently became a member of the famous Herrenklub—introduced by Herr von Papen; he was in daily touch with big industrialists and bankers, but at that time he kept completely aloof from politics.

Then in the autumn of 1929 he met Hitler at a dinner party given by the banker Schröder, who was one of the best-known financiers of the National Socialist movement. By his mediation Hitler had come to a new agreement with the industrialists, and he had made many important acquaintances at his house. Hitler was immediately interested in Herr von Ribbentrop who was correspondingly curious about the Führer, a man already very well known in Germany. Hitler recognised that he could employ Ribbentrop very usefully in foreign missions and, moreover, this young aristocrat would give him a connection with von Papen and the Herrenklub.

Ribbentrop had had connections from his early days with many of the leading National Socialists beside Hitler himself—with Rudolf Hess in particular. First by way of Hess and then directly, Hitler and Ribbentrop gradually began to co-operate, but Ribbentrop, a successful man, avoided breaking his connections with the Zentrum and Jewish high finance in the years before the seizure of power. The part that Ribbentrop played in the events at the beginning of the year 1933 has never been fully cleared up, but there are many indications that

it was he who inaugurated the negotiations between Hitler and Papen. He would thus have been an immediate peace-maker for Hitler.

Hitler at once showed his gratitude for this service, and in April, 1934, the man from the champagne cellars, known to no politicians inside or outside Germany, was suddenly appointed Reichscommissar for Disarmament by President Hindenburg at Hitler's special recommendation—or even patronage. At that moment disarmament discussions were still in full swing at Geneva with Germany participating and Ribbentrop repeatedly had the opportunity of showing both his adroitness and his sympathy with the new system in Germany. He did not behave so provocatively as perhaps Goebbels, Rosenberg, Dr. Ley, or Hanfstaengel had done on various other foreign missions. He was as slippery as an eel, a pleasant and witty conversationalist, whose education and linguistic ability were in direct contrast with the brusqueness of former National Socialist representatives. He had the manner of a well-educated agent, and he never travelled without the credentials and introductions which a good representative should have.

In Paris and in London Ribbentrop had found his way to influential politicians: in Paris he had made the acquaintance of Louis Barthou, afterwards French Foreign Minister. Whilst in London he had succeeded in joining the Marquis of Londonderry's set.

Hitler is an infinitely vain person. He appraises his co-workers according to their true capabilities, but also wishes to be flattered by them. Ribbentrop knew this weakness of Hitler's and pandered to it to such an extent that in the very year that he made his first move for National Socialism he wrote a bombastic play singing Hitler's praises. Its title was 'In the Path of the Leader'.

Hitler was entirely won over to Ribbentrop by this, and

from then on entrusted him more frequently with ticklish diplomatic moves. But here there was also another reason. German diplomacy, and to a large extent the Services, had been taken over from the old system. National Socialism had not a single trained diplomat at that time. The haughty school of old diplomats was, however, a thorn in Hitler's flesh, for it held fast to the established rules of the game, and did not wish to be associated with the 'iron fist' escapades of National Socialism. He believed, however, that he could rely on Ribbentrop as a good party man just as was the case in later years where Captain Wiedeman and Herr Abetz were concerned. And so Ribbentrop figured first of all as Hitler's special plenipotentiary in particularly important affairs and also as a control on the ambassadors and envoys not yet entirely acquiescent to the system.

In 1935 Ribbentrop, in this semi-official controlling function, was commissioned to undertake a foreign tour for Hitler's information. He first went to Brussels, London, and Paris, and he met with immediate success in two particular cases.

In June, 1935, by means of the negotiations which he set afoot, the Naval Treaty was concluded to limit the respective naval armaments of Germany and Great Britain. (This agreement was later repudiated by Hitler on the 28th of April, 1939, as a 'punishment' for the conclusion of the military pact between Great Britain and Poland). After a few weeks Ribbentrop's earlier negotiations with Belgium resulted in the Belgian Government furnishing an avowal of neutrality in the event of war. In March, 1936, the Rhineland was occupied by Germany. The Western powers protested strongly against this breach of the Versailles treaty, and quite soon there was a conference of the League powers in London to deliberate on further steps. The German delegate for this conference was Ribbentrop. At the time Herr von Hoesch was Ambassador in Lon-

don, but he was seriously ill (he died soon afterwards), and so it was easy to supplant him at the conference. Ribbentrop represented German interests with such good effect that quite likely the most opportune moment for taking action against Germany was let slip.

Nevertheless Ribbentrop was not destined just then to take von Hoesch's place in London. A candidate of longer standing had reported for the post and he had more influence with Hitler than the diplomat. This was Rosenberg. Rosenberg, however, was no commercial traveller, but only an out-and-out propagandist for National Socialism, and his first action in London was in keeping. On a visit there intended to be a 'feeler' he placed on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, on behalf of the German Government, a wreath adorned with an enormous swastika. This tactless gesture caused a great stir, and after an indignant protest by the British Legion the offending ribbon was removed; but Rosenberg's mission was wrecked.

In the summer of 1936 von Ribbentrop was already German Ambassador in London. After Lichnowsky, Neurath, and Hoesch, his position in what was, perhaps, the most important post in German foreign politics, was a difficult one. But he had personal links with the English aristocracy and this, coupled with the good connections of his wife and his father-in-law, caused him to show success in this phase of his activities also.

He was pleasant or, better, good-natured, and at first, even in his official capacity, he was in favour of a rapprochement between Germany and the Western powers.

As Ribbentrop in his earlier days had been outspokenly Liberal- and Republican-minded, he understood very well how to pass as rather a Liberal, and he knew excellently how to mask the change of front he had decided on in 1929. He passed eighteen months in England in this lofty posi-



RIBBENTROP ARRIVING IN ENGLAND AS BRITISH AMBASSADOR.

tion, and he used the time in obtaining information by every possible channel, public or private, regarding the temper of the British. This factor was decisive for European policy, when on the 4th of February, 1938, he was appointed German Foreign Minister in succession to Herr von Neurath.

Now at last Hitler had a man in the highest diplomatic post in the Reich who was a sworn National Socialist and a blind follower of his own lead. (Between 1933 and 1935 Ribbentrop had even been temporarily the leader of a brigade of Storm Troops.)

Now the so-called 'Napoleonic period' could begin in Germany, for the Party, Diplomacy and the Services were united under Hitler and every action of National Socialism had to be blindly supported by the Foreign Office and the Army.

The occupation of Austria, the claims on the Sudetenland, and the rape of Czechoslovakia would never have been accomplished with such bloodless success if von Ribbentrop, the Foreign Minister, had not accurately known the political temper of France and England. Ribbentrop, himself, was convinced that there was a crisis in France and that England was by no means prepared, and he also knew, thanks to his personal experience, how to convince Hitler and his military advisers that Germany's violent measures would not lead to war.

Following Ribbentrop's appointment to the Foreign Office a definite phase began for German and world politics: the policy of the utilisation of favourable opportunities, the weakness of opponents and bluff. We may look to the title of this chapter for a name, and call it the policy of the shady side of commercial travelling.

Ribbentrop unites in his person the experience of a diplomat, a spy and an agent, and in all his actions he can rely on a whole army of subordinate diplomats, spies and

agents. These men in the Wilhelmstrasse are capable of painting a more exact picture of the prevalent temper of a given Power than is the case anywhere else. Since Herr von Neurath's retirement, pacts and international laws have been shaken and broken with as much violence as was previously employed in internal affairs in Germany, and because of this, given the help of the agent and spy systems, every weakness in an opponent can be immediately played upon for Germany's benefit.

The system has indeed already been followed to a certain degree by Japan and Italy, but it has only been made use of in this general and unlimited fashion by Germany since the 4th of February, 1938, under Ribbentrop's Foreign Ministry. Another system was built up simultaneously—one which had first been tried out successfully for Hitler by Ribbentrop. This was a dispatch of special commissioners of the National Socialist Party (occasionally also Hitler's or Goering's representatives) abroad as a control on the professional diplomats, to glean special information or to launch definite propaganda.

International diplomacy which previously had always ranked very high and had distinguished itself from other professions by the especially good education and manners of its exponents has been reduced to a low level by customs introduced by the National Socialists. So much so that democratic countries bore with little patience the continual lack of good faith and threats of attack up to the autumn of 1939. The declaration of war made by Great Britain and France on Germany was not only released by the unprovoked attack of Germany on Poland but also by the preceding actions and breaches of trust of German policy under Ribbentrop.

One could only speak of the Foreign Minister's policy as successful so long as the other States allowed these unilateral encroachments. The moment this policy was re-

cognised for what it was a war was bound to ensue. For all other countries of the world would have been endangered if certain powers had not shot a bolt on this lunacy. These were Powers who were in a position, by their military and economic strength, to convert once again Might into Right.

A few words must here be devoted to that sudden veer in the policy of National Socialism from anti-Bolshevism to a league with the Bolsheviks. Many commercial travellers of the worst kind when they have forcibly been ejected by one door make no bones about coming back through another. This was more or less Hitler's and Ribbentrop's view in relation to the Soviet. At first both of them could not do enough in combating Bolshevism in every form. The apple of Ribbentrop's political eye was the Anti-Comintern Pact, and it was his invention. Germany's policy demanded first and foremost of her confederates—to wit Italy, Japan, Spain and Hungary—that they should join in the Anti-Comintern Pact. And this very Ribbentrop, who had shipped all his policy aboard this one vessel, jettisoned everything—his convictions, his policy, his obligations towards his allies—with a stroke of the pen, and concluded for the sake of a momentary advantage in Poland a treaty of alliance with his most bitterly contested enemy, the sworn enemy of National Socialism.

By nothing else perhaps may the reprehensible policy of National Socialism be more clearly indicated than by this treachery. Perhaps, however, this last great 'success' of Ribbentrop's proves that conditions in Germany had come to such a pass before the outbreak of war that this complete swing of the helm was the only thing that could bring a ray of hope.

Perhaps, also, Ribbentrop hoped by the conclusion of the Russian Pact to prevent war yet again, or in a like manner by extortion to attain a bloodless victory in Poland.

This attempt miscarried. It had to miscarry, because after eighteen months of Ribbentrop's foreign ministry the consequences of giving way to Germany again were obvious to the democratic states.

Ribbentrop had the political touch as long as he was in a position to bluff by his surprising moves. Even the Russian Pact was to a certain extent a fresh attempt at bluff. But this time Germany's political poker players were no longer in a position to control their expressions in such a way that their opponents would give way.

As long as the war lasts, and so long as there is no conclusive decision, one can vouchsafe no final judgment regarding Ribbentrop's policy. This much is confirmed: his diplomatic art did not extend to the avoidance of war. The responsibility for this war lies entirely with the National Socialist leaders and, after these, primarily with Ribbentrop. He lent a hand, which his predecessor Baron Neurath would never have wished or been able to do, by the introduction of National Socialist methods into foreign policy, in offending and deceiving the world: the same methods with which Hitler at home had bamboozled and betrayed the German population. In the days immediately before the outbreak of war Ribbentrop, not as a diplomat but as a very shady commercial traveller, had proved that he was not for a moment serious about reaching a similar agreement with Poland and the Western powers. The comedy of the non-delivery of the sixteen intermediary points was only improvised because Ribbentrop did not think for an instant of sending this offer formally to Poland. He would have had to count on the Warsaw Government immediately accepting the proposals. He would then have had to count on the fact that in the plebiscite in the Corridor under international auspices the majority of the population would have been wholeheartedly against Germany and for Poland. But Hitler and Ribben-

trop could no more risk this than they could risk the free plebiscite in Austria which Schuschnigg had in prospect for the 13th of March, 1938, and which was prevented by Hitler's ultimatum. For this very reason he took very good care not to convey the proposals to Poland seriously. It suited him much better to declare that the Poles had rejected these proposals although they had never been delivered to Warsaw, than to receive Poland's consent.

At the time of writing this book it is still too early to perceive whether, and to what extent, the German alliance with the Soviet will influence the fall of the National Socialist Government. It is safe to assume that it must have powerful repercussions of not exactly the best sort on the policy of Germany. The responsibility for this lies with Herr von Ribbentrop and his see-saw policy.

Only history can pass a true judgment on Ribbentrop the diplomat. But it is not to be assumed that this judgment will either be favourable or clement.

THE EIGHTH APOSTLE

*Julius Streicher,
Jew Baiter No. 1*

Julius Streicher, Gauleiter of Nuremberg, was arrested on the 15th of September, 1939, by the Gestapo at Goering's orders. He will appear before the Party courts. The original news that he was taken to a lunatic asylum has been proved to be incorrect. Streicher was charged with being involved in a plot against Goering. One of Hitler's adjutants shot himself on the Polish front on the 14th of September, 1939, and letters were found on him which gravely incriminated Streicher.

THE ONLY NEWSPAPER,' Julius Streicher once declared to some foreign journalists, 'which the Führer reads from the first to the last line is my *Stürmer*.'

People abroad do not know the *Stürmer*. Otherwise everyone would realise what a devastating criticism lies in this utterance of Streicher's—that it is this paper above all, that Hitler reads from beginning to end.

The reason that foreigners only know the *Stürmer* from hearsay, and not from personal perusal, is not only due to the fact that this paper is written in German, but chiefly because the German authorities are ashamed to let it pass over the frontier. There is indeed no express ban against its exportation, but the word has been given that one must take care—and no questions asked—that as few copies as possible cross the frontier. This is practically equivalent to a ban on its foreign circulation.

The German authorities are well aware why they do not

wish Streicher's famous paper to get into foreign hands. It is probably the lowest and least reputable newspaper that has ever been circulated in any country as an official news organ. From the first letter to the last its one aim is the incitement of the German nation against the Jewish race; it offers chiefly gossip and scandal; exaggerates every case of 'race shame'—that is, love between Aryan and non-Aryan—to a political crime, and it is never afraid to expose still more new tales of ritual murder, world conspiracy of Jewry, and the shameful deeds of freemasons as true stories.

The *Stürmer* is an invention of Julius Streicher. At first it was the subsequent President of the Danzig Free State, Forster, who directed this paper with him. Later other co-operators were found, but these were never able to come within striking distance of the tone which Streicher was accustomed to use.

It is not entirely clear what impelled Julius Streicher, the Nüremberg national school-teacher, to make anti-Semitism, not only his life work, but also his almost exclusive source of remuneration. While the opposition in Germany could speak, one often heard the rumour that Streicher's anti-Semitism had been unleashed through an experience similar to that of Hitler's—a girl with whom he was in love is said to have turned him down in favour of a Jew. This explanation sounds plausible, for Streicher is known as an unscrupulous woman-chaser and a violent Don Juan. He is also possessed of an urge, amounting almost to a persecution mania, to display in most numbers of the *Stürmer* cases of race shame, and the sexual misdemeanours of Aryan girls in most intimate and disturbing detail.

There is another circumstance which speaks for this accentuated lust for revenge; he repeatedly causes Aryan girls, or women, who have been friendly with Jews or half-

Jews, to be forced by the S.A. to parade the streets with large sandwich-boards. On these appear the words, 'I (then follows her full name) have given myself to (here is given the man's full name), a Jewish hog'. In July, 1933, in Nürnberg, Streicher had a nineteen-year-old Catholic girl arrested because she had fallen in love with a Jew, and Streicher scented 'culpable relations'. The girl's head was shaved bare, and she was compelled by the S.A. to trail the Nürnberg theatres and cabarets, accompanied by her Jewish lover. Wherever they were both dragged on to the stage the S.A., on Streicher's orders, explained, by obscene commentary and action, the crime that these two young people, honestly in love with each other, had been guilty of.

All these, and many other things, are only explicable if one assumes that Streicher is avenging a personal experience of his earlier days, and lusts to satiate a personal grudge.

Yet one should not think that Streicher lacks importance, or is merely an annoyance to the Party. On the contrary, he is perhaps, to a certain degree, the most original figure of all who in these days lead their monstrous lives in Hitler's Germany. He has never, in the manner, perhaps, of Hess or Schirach, subordinated his personality to that of Hitler. He has always gone his own way, partly even in open revolt, against the Führer. But, on the other hand, it was he who, after the collapse of the Party, following the Bürgerbräu *putsch* in November, 1923, was able to keep the Nürnberg group absolutely on its legs, and so lay the foundations of the new National Socialist Party. He was the first to support Hitler lavishly with money, and he it was, too, who made Nürnberg in later years the centre of the Hitler movement. He was thus the founder of the annual Party congress at Nürnberg, before which the whole world was forced to tremble in



STREICHER OUTSIDE THE CELL IN NUREMBERG PRISON IN WHICH HE WAS CONFINED IN 1926.

An honorary tablet is seen over the entrance, and no prisoner is in future to be housed in this cell. (Streicher himself has never been seen in it.)

August and September of 1938. With his anti-Semitism he not only influenced Hitler in his earliest days, but also provided Rosenberg with the appropriate slogan when the Party principles were drawn up.

Julius Streicher belongs to the Old Guard of the movement. He was born on the 12th of February, 1885, at Fleinhausen, in Franken. His father was a school-teacher in a little village. The family on the father's side came of small handicrafts men, and on the mother's side of the peasantry. Julius Streicher followed his father's calling and became a national school-teacher in Nüremberg. At the outbreak of war he enlisted as a volunteer for a year in the 3rd Regiment of Infantry, and then became a cyclist in a machine-gun platoon. By the end of the war he had attained the rank of Lieutenant of Reserve. In contrast to many other leading figures in the movement, all his thoughts and perceptions are unmilitary and undisciplined. Even when on active service he had often distinguished himself by his intolerance towards his Jewish comrades. He envied them their greater intelligence, and often their more rapid promotion. Besides this he was of the opinion that when on service the Jew had too much money at his disposal, and received too many presents from non-Jewish women.

Streicher had hardly returned from service to his teaching at Nüremberg before he started immediate and rabid anti-Semitic propaganda. At first he tried himself out as an anti-Semitic speaker in various parts of the Reich, and by this means he came into contact with two groups as early as 1919. These were the German Socialist Party at Düsseldorf, under the leadership of Alfred Brunner, a qualified engineer, and the 'German Working Community' (*Deutsche Werkgemeinschaft*) under Professor Dickel in Augsburg. Julius Streicher made his appearance as a speaker for both of these bodies, and he also

founded an anti-Semitic weekly for each of them. For the first the *Deutschen Sozialist* (the German Socialist) and for the second *Deutschen Volkswille* (the People's Will). Again and again from 1919 to 1921, in the course of his speeches and his journalistic efforts Streicher encountered the name of Adolf Hitler. And at that time this man seemed to be his keenest rival in the province of anti-Semitism and national revival. From time to time Streicher sought to go forward in company with Hitler, but he was perpetually on the look-out for an opportunity of unseating him. In July, 1921, when Hitler was taking a course of elocution in Berlin, Julius Streicher got into touch, via Professor Dickel, with Anton Drexler who was the real founder of the National Socialist Workers' Party. He persuaded him to effect a transfer of the Party to Berlin, where Drexler, Dickel and himself should carry it on together, but without Hitler. But Dietrich Eckart, Hitler's 'discoverer', heard of Streicher's plot, and recalled Hitler by telegram. There was an extraordinarily dramatic encounter, in the course of which Hitler ejected Anton Drexler, and with Eckart, Rosenberg, Hess and Feder founded the new National Socialist Party. Since the 29th of July, 1921, Hitler has been undisputedly the 'Führer'.

After this *fronde*, which miscarried, Julius Streicher retired to Nuremberg again, where he endeavoured, with the help of the German Socialist Party, to remain at least equally entitled to the Munich Party. But Hitler, who besides his anti-Semitism had other more important arguments to bring forward, succeeded so energetically at Munich and in other parts of South Germany during the next two years, that Streicher in the autumn of 1922 could do nothing better than desert to Hitler with flying colours. Not only did he transfer his own Party organisations, but he also brought the German Socialist Party, and the German Working Community, whose members were induced

to join the N.S.D.A.P. Here he made use of a precept which was later used by other separatists, to subordinate themselves to Hitler: 'To join forces with the National Socialist Party, which is progressing out of the mutual struggle and to fight on in its ranks for common aims.'

Hitler, who at that time was always grateful and thankful for the procuring of new groups of members, pardoned Streicher his 1921 *fronde*, and even went so far as to create a separate Nüremberg group with Streicher at the head. This later on developed into the nucleus of the movement.

On the 8th of November, 1923, just when he was sitting down to supper in Nüremberg, Streicher heard the news of the Bürgerbräu *putsch* in Munich. Betimes on the morning of the 9th of November he travelled there, but did not first of all seek out Hitler. He went to the Marienplatz in front of the Munich Rathaus to make an address to the people from an improvised platform. While he was still speaking to a large crowd, the band of putschists marched up under the leadership of Hitler and Ludendorff. Streicher, afraid of being set upon by Hitler in consequence of his new *fronde*, leaped down from the dais and insinuated himself into the second rank of the platoon, endeavouring to march ahead with doubled vigour—somewhat like a schoolboy who is caught out at some mischief.

It was Streicher, too, who in front of the Feldherrenhalle where the police were drawn up, sprang out of the ranks and charged the policemen, seeking to wrest their ready-cocked carbines from them. This was the real signal for a random exchange of shots, and so Streicher appears to be one of those responsible for the killing of sixteen National Socialists and four police on that day. In spite of this Hitler rated Streicher's deed very highly, and the close connection which is to be noted in later years be-

tween the two men is no doubt to be traced to that 'battle' of the 9th of November, 1923. Streicher was arrested with Hitler and, like him, imprisoned at Landsberg a short time after. But Streicher's organisation at Nüremberg held and remained unshaken in spite of the dissolution of the Party. In the course of the criminal proceedings in connection with the *putsch* Streicher was deprived of his teacher's post. But he had in the meantime founded his *Stürmer*, and in this newspaper he found an ample substitute for his lost stipend. Originally the paper had been an outspoken mischief-maker that was concerned with all the scandal and bedroom secrets of Nüremberg. When Streicher took it over in 1923, shortly before the *putsch*, he had no trouble at all in changing town gossip for anti-Semitic gossip. This happened in a most freely pornographic form. What Streicher could not supply in words was supplied by illustrations which left nothing to the imagination.

In certain circles at Nüremberg and in the whole of Frankenland this kind of anti-Semitism made a distinct hit. Although Streicher was relieved of his post as a teacher, he nevertheless enjoyed a certain amount of protection from the authorities and was, therefore, allowed to do things which would immediately have taken any other newspaper into the criminal courts. He sent his agents round to big Christian and Jewish houses to get subscribers and advertisements. If he would not take Jewish money for his paper he caused 'compensatory payments', as it were, to be made to the Party fund. This fund was used to supply honoraria for orators who spoke for the Party. It was Hitler chiefly who received payment from Streicher for speaking at Nüremberg. His biographers, particularly Konrad Heiden, state that Streicher repeatedly pressed a fee into Hitler's hand after his speeches. It has come out from many sources that Hitler

received as an honorarium for a single speech as much as 1,000 marks or more. Whether he employed this money on himself or the Party rested with Hitler as leader of the Party. It must be said to his credit that at least a part of it was actually used for the Party. A second orator who was provided with money by Streicher in a similar way was Gauleiter Forster, who was later master of Danzig.

But Streicher also had satisfactory access to the large industrialists and financiers of Nürnberg, a way which at that time was not open to Hitler. So from Nürnberg, raised by Streicher, at this period came relatively abundant funds to Hitler and the Party.

Even his closest supporters have no illusions about the peculiarities of Streicher's character. Gregor Strasser has often proposed his exclusion from the Party, because by his private life, his journal the *Stürmer*, and his association with ex-criminals he has endangered the reputation of the movement. Pöhner, the President of the Munich police, who worked in close contact with Hitler for a while, has called Streicher a 'dung-heap'. Hitler himself once said in defence of Streicher: 'I do not wish to forego Streicher's work within the bounds of his capabilities just because he does not agree with everybody in his disposition, and in the shape of his head. After all, what man is there who is without a blemish?' Dietrich, that racy Bavarian, minced no words over Streicher, he said plainly: '*Dös is ja a Narr*' (The man's a fool).

There are numberless scandalous stories in circulation about Streicher's private life. He tried hard to enter into closer relationship with the wives of many of his most intimate Party friends, frequently with success, but apart from this he is not fastidious in his choice of women. A tale current among his closest acquaintance is that he often sits naked at his desk, and it cannot be wondered that

arising out of this there are corresponding rumours about his office life.

The activities of the *Stürmer* have resulted in the deaths of many hundreds of Jews. In 1934, under Streicher's direct leadership, and that of the Saxon S.A. leader, von Obernitz, things came to a regular pogrom in Gunzenhausen, in Mittelfranken. In the course of it all Jewish houses were raided, and the greater part of their occupants were slaughtered. As a protest against this deed the Oberpräsident of Mittelfranken resigned from office, but Streicher and his assistant remained quite unmolested.

For his services to anti-Semitism, Streicher was appointed 'Leader of the Central Committees for defence against Jewish atrocity and boycott provocation'. Besides the office of Gauleiter, this is the only official position which it has been possible to concede to him.

But, nevertheless, this man has succeeded far beyond the limits of his immediate office in obtaining influence over the Party, and reputation in Germany. He is, perhaps, the only one who has consciously and undisciplinedly placed himself outside the bounds of the Party machine, who dares even to-day openly to state his opinions to Hitler, who abuses, curses, and is not one whit afraid of Himmler. He is quite lacking in character and restraint in his actions and negotiations. He has no consideration for morals or decent behaviour when it is a matter of attaining an end which he has set before him. Yet as a personality he has some sort of effect on the masses, and perhaps more than a trained speaker. Often his speeches are so unintelligent, bombastic and grotesque, that many of his meetings are regarded by the public as a regular amusement. It is, unfortunately, completely impossible to reproduce the 'purple patches' of his numerous speeches in English, because the most worthy passages are untranslatable. It should be noted, however, that most of

his sentences stop short in the middle, because before he reaches the end he very frequently does not know how he began.

The official German *Who's Who* of leaders, in which, naturally, Streicher figures, takes the trouble of illuminating the special intellectual capabilities and accomplishments of every prominent Party member. But anent Streicher this register merely makes the laconic remark: 'Hobby: painting'. Streicher in his leisure hours busies himself with painting in water-colours—landscapes after the style of a schoolboy, and obscene pictures after the style of an adolescent.

One must not, however, fail to appreciate that one of the main-springs of National Socialism, to wit the struggle against Jewry, is to be traced back primarily to the activities of this man; and that anti-Semitism, in default of other intellectual tendencies, represents now as ever one of the chief means of propaganda for the population. Although the 'Battle against Jewry' has already been clearly won, and the majority of the Jews driven out of Germany, and in any case all Jewish property has been expropriated, yet Streicher's struggle continues inexorably. Every week in all German towns the *Stürmer* is put out in a display case. In this way he makes his attacks accessible to those of the population who cannot afford to subscribe to the paper. But Streicher even endeavours, beyond this, to found an international league against the Jews. In 1938 particularly he tested foreign feeling even in English circles with a view to introducing this war he wages in Germany into the whole world. His attempts have, for the most part, miscarried most lamentably; for people abroad, who had any dealing with Streicher, could not but rapidly be convinced as to the nature of his character, and the way his famous journal is constituted.

Streicher is often labelled 'pathological' by his oppo-

nents. This reproach has hit him hardest of all, apparently because he is conscious of the justification of it. Again and again, in his public speeches, Streicher comes back to this term, and, in self-defence, seeks desperately to repudiate it. But although the bulk of his Party comrades have formed a proper impression of his true character and his attributes, the tendency of the present system in Germany is not only to allow him to go his own way without restriction, but consistently to support him and his activities, and thrust him to the fore.

Modesty must be accorded them on one score—their diffidence in wishing to prevent the foreign circulation of the *Stürmer*—Streicher's image.

THE NINTH APOSTLE

*General von Brauchitsch,
the Initiator of the New World War*

THE IMMEDIATE RESPONSIBILITY for the outbreak of the new world war lies with General von Brauchitsch, Commander-in-Chief of the National Socialist Army. Hitler politically, Goebbels with propaganda, and Rosenberg ideologically prepared the unprovoked attack of the German troops on the Poles on the 1st of September, 1939; but the actual driving force in Germany's new Eastern policy is the leader of the Army. Since his appointment on the 4th of February, 1938, he has, together with Ribbentrop, consciously, and using his whole personality, urged Hitler to avoid conflict with the Western Powers, and to make his army drive merely to the East. General Brauchitsch is an old and experienced officer of the General Staff, who does not doubt for a moment that the French Maginot Line would represent an insurmountable obstacle to a German advance. From a purely military point of view it was obvious to Brauchitsch that the expansion of the Reich must take place in the line of lesser resistance. It was therefore General Brauchitsch who not only incited Hitler to destroy Czechoslovakia, but also worked with all his might for the denunciation of the pact of non-aggression with Poland which, as a betrayal of military policy, was a thorn in the side of the Reichswehr and all the German generals.

General von Brauchitsch comes of a family having old feudal estates in East Prussia. He therefore had to take it

as a personal affront that East Prussia, his homeland, was divided from the Reich by the Corridor. He would be no soldier if war against Poland did not occur to him as the most natural means of wiping out this disgrace of the Versailles Treaty.

Even on the 19th of July, 1939, six weeks before the outbreak of war, when conflict with the Poles had by no means come to a head, General von Brauchitsch made a speech in which one could clearly read the intention of the German Army. The subalterns of the military colleges had been assembled at Tannenberg, in East Prussia. Speaking before the Tannenberg memorial (Tannenberg is the spot where, in September, 1914, General von Hindenburg inflicted a crushing defeat on the advancing Russian Army), the Commander-in-Chief of the German Army made a passing-out address to these youngsters, in the course of which he said :

‘To visit Tannenberg to-day is to understand history. At this time and on this spot it does not seem sufficient to me merely to speak of Hindenburg’s and Ludendorff’s generalship. This land is old, historic, and, I will say it with great emphasis, *old German land*. Prussia is German soil; a watchword for you of the military colleges who have journeyed to Tannenberg in 1939; an answer, too, for those who now intend to confirm their pretended right to this land primevally German, traditionally German for thousands of years, German by nature, German, too, historically; *theirs is an error which soldiers do not refute with words*. We do not seek war, still less do we fear it. I wish you to ask yourselves once more whether you are soldiers who, when challenged, will agree with those words of the great king of Prussia: We must attack the enemy, or be buried by his batteries. He would be no proper young German officer who had no eager desire one day to command German soldiers to victory. . . .As your Commander-in-Chief I bind you to that soldier spirit which manifested

itself once on this very battlefield in a marvellous unity of leaders and men. . . . Over the graves and crosses of many centuries, above which this soil again and again has been victoriously declared German, our way leads on to the honour and glory of the Fatherland.'

The German Press, for its part, made a correspondingly great point of his speech, and enlarged upon it thus :

'It is to be wished that this speech might be heard and understood beyond the German frontier, especially where crazy insolence is casting avaricious glances at German territory and falling into the mistake of thinking Germany's strength, for the assertion of her rights, is not what it was. *An error that a soldier does not refute with words.*'

The German Press thereby deliberately underlined just those words of General von Brauchitsch which pointed to war; and thus was indicated the sentence of his speech on which the leading Commander of the German Army had laid most weight.

It is not to be wondered at that General von Brauchitsch stumbled on these words. For he had, for his part, after the denunciation of the German-Polish non-aggression pact on the 28th of April, 1939, coined the classic phrase : 'The foreign policy of the Third Reich has once more taken on a Prussian and classical direction.' By these words he gave expression not only to his own conviction, but also to the opinion of the whole Reichswehr command.

Von Brauchitsch deliberately prepared the conflict with Poland, and apart from this the Commander-in-Chief of the German Army was also one of the most important champions of a rapprochement between Germany and the Soviet.

Alfred Rosenberg's dithyrambs against Bolshevism, with their world point of view, carried no weight with General von Brauchitsch, nor did Hitler's and Goering's deeply rooted opposition count. For von Brauchitsch, once

Germany had entered upon her Napoleonic career of conquest, only purely military points of view were possible and admissible as decisive. Through the High Command and Herr von Schulenburg, the Reichswehr-favouring ambassador at Moscow, General von Brauchitsch from the moment he took over office left no stone unturned to persuade Hitler to a *volte-face* in favour of a rapprochement with Soviet Russia.

Something must be added here by way of introduction. General von Brauchitsch was one of those highly placed German officers who since 1919 had been in favour of the German forces rearming by the instrumentality of Russia. He was of the opinion that in the face of the limitation of armaments of the Entente, the equipping of the German Army on modern lines with tanks, armoured cars and large bombing planes could best go on in Russian factories. It was, therefore, the leading Reichswehr officers, and among them von Brauchitsch especially, who from 1922 to 1932 supported German tool deliveries to the Soviet in order that automobile and aircraft factories might be erected on Russian territory to manufacture army equipment for Germany.

After Hitler's accession to power in 1933 these exertions of General von Brauchitsch were disappointed, as were his wishes for a liquidation of the Corridor question. As long as Germany lived on good terms with Poland no claims to Danzig or the Corridor could be made. And as long as the rift between Germany and Russia was there, with a league with Poland on the other side, 'the Prussian and classical direction' could not be entered upon.

A lot of energy and hard work was needed behind the scenes before General von Brauchitsch, in February, 1939, could succeed in bringing about far-reaching negotiations between Germany and Russia. For the negotiations between Moscow and Berlin, which terminated in the con-

clusion of the notorious non-aggression pact of the 23rd of August, 1939, go back a long way. But even then von Brauchitsch still hesitated, and the outbreak of the war only happened on the day after the council of Soviet Commissars in Moscow had ratified the pact, and publicly made a wide promise touching support of Germany. By means of this, in the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief of the German forces, not only was the guarantee offered that the campaign against Poland would be assured, but also that the anticipated movement of the German Communists in the interior had been throttled.

If previously von Brauchitsch had not taken a large share in the construction of National Socialism and the creation of the Hitler régime, yet in this last phase of German policy he played *the* decisive rôle and became, on the military side, one of Hitler's strongest paladins.

For General von Brauchitsch is not a Party man, but primarily a soldier. A soldier, it is true, who had always occupied himself with politics and economics, besides drill, and who therefore thought in terms of territorial politics as well as army corps and divisions.

He was born in Berlin on the 4th of October, 1881. That he was born in the capital and not in East Prussia was a chance occurrence; his father, an officer too, was stationed just then at Berlin. The family of Brauchitsch had been domiciled in East Prussia for generations, they belonged to the East Prussian military nobility. The father of the present Commander-in-Chief of the German Army was a General of cavalry. Young Brauchitsch studied at the French Gymnasium in Berlin, and then in 1895 joined the Berlin Corps of Cadets, passing out in 1900. He first entered the Royal Regiment of Elizabeth's Guards as a lieutenant on the 22nd of March, 1900, but a year later was transferred to the 3rd Regiment of Field Artillery, whose divisional and regimental commander he later was. By his

services in this regiment he became an expert artilleryman, and was able to show his specialisation to some advantage by several technical improvements.

On the 1st of April, 1912, at the age of thirty, this very ambitious young officer was ordered to the General Staff, and at the outbreak of war attached as Staff Captain to the 16th Army Corps (Metz). He passed the whole war on the Western front as an officer on the General Staff, and three months before the collapse of the German front, out of special respect for his military capabilities, he was attached to the General Staff of the Corps of Guards. He was one of the few active officers who, after the collapse, did not have to lay down their arms, but were taken over by the Republic as officers of the Reichswehr. In 1919 he joined the District Command No. II (Stettin) as officer of the General Staff, whence, in November, 1922, he was called to the Ministry of Defence.

As an officer Brauchitsch is not only ambitious but also talented. He succeeded, even in Republican Germany, in attracting the attention of his superiors by his military knowledge, his technical work on artillery, and besides this, also by his organising talent. From the year 1925 he has progressed by leaps and bounds, aided by the fact that he passed as a strong nationalist and inclined to the Right, and had the confidence of the very influential Right Wing of the Reichswehr. On the 1st of November, 1925, he became Lieutenant-Colonel; on the 1st of December, 1925, Divisional Commander of the 6th Prussian Regiment of Artillery; on the 1st of September, 1927, Chief of Staff; on the 1st of April, 1928, Colonel; on the 1st of February, 1930, Divisional Chief in the Ministry of Defence; on the 1st of October, 1931, Major-General; on the 1st of February, 1932, Inspector of Artillery; on the 1st of February, 1933, Commandant of the first division of the Reichswehr and simultaneously Commander of Army District ('*Wehr-*

kreis ') No. 1 (Königsberg). On the 1st of October of the same year he became Lieutenant-General, and on the 4th of February, 1938, after Blomberg's resignation, Chief in Command, under Hitler's leadership, of all the German forces.

General von Brauchitsch became a National Socialist in quite a different way from all the other National Socialist dignitaries. He was always in the nationalist and the extremely conservative camp, but here he repeatedly stood for the often contrary ideas of the military. It was General von Blomberg, Brauchitsch's immediate predecessor as leader of the German Army, who prepared him for this supreme military post in the National Socialist State. Brauchitsch served under von Blomberg for a long time in the Army Training Department, and was his successor in Army District No. 1 (Königsberg). His co-operation with Blomberg, who was an unquestioning supporter of Hitler,¹ infected him with National Socialist ideas. When Blomberg, on account of Hitler's disapproval of his marriage, resigned more or less voluntarily, he himself recommended von Brauchitsch as his successor.

Even during his period as Commander of Army District No. 1²), that is, the province of East Prussia, Brauchitsch had zealously prepared for war against Poland, although at that time such an event was highly improbable. Brauchitsch carried out the construction of a line of fortifications round East Prussia, and at first it was not manifest whether

¹ According to information from neutral sources, General Blomberg has been arrested by Hitler in the middle of October, 1939, and has been interned at Landsberg.

² It may be interesting, particularly at the moment, to know the other districts and their commanders. They are: No. II (Stettin), General Blaskowitz; District No. III (Berlin), General von Witzleben; District No. IV (Dresden), General List; District No. V (Ulm), General Geyer; District No. VI (Münster), General Kluge; District No. VII (München), General von Reichenau; District No. VIII (Breslau), General von Kleist; District No. IX (Kassel), General Dollman; and District No. X (Hamburg), General Knochenhauer.

these were intended against the Poles or Soviet Russia. Brauchitsch at all events succeeded in a comparatively short time in planting a wall of fortification on the Eastern German frontier similar to that in the West, now known as the Siegfried Line. It is noteworthy that these ramparts in the East were under construction as early as 1933 to 1935.

The influence which General von Brauchitsch has exercised, and continues to exercise, over the forces as a liaison officer between the Army and National Socialism is very interesting. The Reichswehr had at first looked down with considerable contempt on the National Socialist Party and the regiments of S.A. men which had been converted into official troops. Even some years after the National Socialist seizure of power the opinion was rife among officers that, as opposed to the mercenaries of the S.A. (*Sturmabteilungen*), the Reichswehr itself was the true force for the maintenance of order in Germany and that the possibility of a conflict between the Reichswehr and the mercenaries must be taken into consideration. But General von Blomberg had already begun to incorporate the S.A. in the regular army companies under rigid discipline. Even the highest ranks of the S.A. were enlisted and trained as ordinary soldiers and had to comply with the far better order prevalent among military companies. Then the anti-religious policy of National Socialism followed as a disagreeable blow to the tendencies of the Reichswehr. The military companies had always been strongly religious, and the attitude of the Government towards the churches was resented alike by the officers and men of the Reichswehr. Von Blomberg was not powerful enough to counter these tendencies, but General von Brauchitsch accomplished a segregation of the anti-religious influence in the army. The High Command, and Brauchitsch in particular, have seen to it that the army divisions now have their chaplains just as they did in the last war. Von Brauchitsch set himself

against the separatist tendencies of the mercenaries even more keenly than his predecessor, and one can take it for granted that the Germany Army, at the outbreak of war in September, 1939, was a much more homogeneous mass than it had been a few years previously.

Purely as a person General von Brauchitsch stands out very salutarily against all the remaining National Socialist leaders. He is an entirely honest and sober-thinking officer, of good military and general education, and unlike other officers he is an expert in political and economic affairs. The chief reproach that may be levelled against him is that he is a power-server. Although by birth and education his leanings could in nowise be towards National Socialism yet he has accepted the highest military command at Hitler's hands. In this circumstance the fact that Brauchitsch is a true patriot may very easily have taken a hand. At the back of his mind may be the idea that by his power over the army he may dispose the policy of Germany against National Socialism. His position in this respect is not entirely clear and unequivocal, and there is actually the possibility that he is playing a double rôle. He has actually succeeded in decisively swaying and altering Hitler's policy in such important questions as Russia and Poland. He is, with Ribbentrop, the originator of the new German policy of action, which in the annexation of Austria, the occupation of Czechoslovakia and Memel-land laid the foundation for the military conquest of Poland.

Brauchitsch appears not only decisively to have influenced and to continue to influence Hitler in his resolutions but also to stand in important opposition to Goering. As Brauchitsch is an artillery man he thinks, naturally enough, that the army must have precedence over the air force, and the German War Command has from the start merely used the air weapon as auxiliary. In Goering's view, on the other hand, the new war should have started with

an onset of thousands of aeroplanes destroying the enemy's towns. It is known that Brauchitsch's relations with Goering are none of the friendliest. This is very likely the reason why he has not been appointed to the supreme Council of Defence, and the inner War Cabinet, following the declaration of war; it is General Keitel, the chief of the General Staff, who is in these. Brauchitsch comes of an old and honourable family of soldiers which had grown up in the best traditions of the Imperial German Army; it is therefore due to him that, at least in the early days of the war, the German Army was bound by the traditions of the former Army, and in the conduct of hostilities avoided, as far as possible, the abominable National Socialist methods.

It was pointed out briefly above that one cannot yet perceive whether General von Brauchitsch is playing a double game. There is no doubt that outwardly he clearly sympathises with National Socialism. He complies with Hitler's commands as chief of the State, within the limits of his military opinion, and has a corresponding influence over the political and economic picture at home in the Third Reich. But it must not be forgotten that Brauchitsch primarily has the German Army wholly and entirely in his power, and that his authority, particularly in time of war, is almost unlimited, and even Himmler's extraordinary powers begin to look insignificant when opposed by the assembled mass of the German Army. So long as Brauchitsch is true to Hitler, and the Army is used merely as a tool of National Socialism, he must be reckoned as a part of the Führer's organisation. But perhaps it is Brauchitsch alone, among all the men in present-day Germany, who has adequate authority, influence, understanding, and backing, and who in case of need could use his weapon against the ruling régime and hope for more than a mere flash in the pan.

This possibility may only be hinted at very briefly. Brauchitsch has proved that in many senses he is in a position to influence the home and foreign policy of Hitler. It has always been reckoned in Germany that a change in the régime would only be possible by the interference of the Reichswehr. The Nazi dictatorship could only be replaced in the future by a military one, assuming the possibility of eliminating a Communist rule. General von Brauchitsch would indubitably be a suitable man to create such a dictatorship—he is far-seeing, holds the power, and obviously has the necessary inflexibility. To a certain extent he is an opportunist, and in this, although it may not be in itself very creditable, lies a certain possibility for himself, for Germany, and for the rest of the world. For even a military dictatorship would to-day be preferable to that of Hitler and National Socialism.

THE TENTH APOSTLE

*Dr. Walter Funk,
the 'Thwarted Artist'*

DR. WALTER FUNK, Minister of Economics for the Reich, and President of the Reichsbank, on his return, in the middle of October, 1938, from an economic tour in S.E. Europe, announced that he had succeeded in creating a North Sea-Black Sea economic axis. This announcement was acclaimed by the German Press as a particularly brilliant success for his economic policy: it was alleged that he had succeeded (and that immediately after the Munich Treaty, and the defeat of the resistance of Czechoslovakia) in forcing all the S.E. European States into an economic union with Germany, and so had made the rich resources of the Danube Basin accessible to the Third Reich. Dr. Funk had visited Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Turkey: he had, in his opinion, concluded such far-reaching credit and supply agreements that, according to his explanations to the Press, these three states had become from that moment merely economic satellites of the Reich. Also, following this capitulation, Hungary, Rumania and Greece were left no other alternative than the conclusion of a similar economic union with Germany.

As a result of his tour the Reich Minister of Economics laid claim to a success which was really a wish-fulfilment dream. For in actuality his great tour in S.E. Europe had produced no improvement in the economic relations of Germany and the S.E. states. It had in fact

the contrary result of leading the official inclination, at least of Rumania and Turkey, away from economic dependence on Germany.

Here, too, Dr. Funk has shown himself a 'thwarted artist'. Peculiarly enough he himself was responsible for this label. All his life he has believed that he could have accomplished more as a musician and a man of the theatre than as a political economist, and that, as he adds, he has repeatedly been thwarted by his 'economic calling'. Be that as it may, economic circles in Germany and in the rest of the world are of the opinion that Dr. Funk may be perhaps a good musician, but he has never really been a good political economist. Moreover, whilst his musician friends have an extraordinary respect for his capabilities in political economy, whenever in his leisure hours he sits down to the piano to treat them to a performance, which he does most willingly, they deny him the title of artist.

Originally Dr. Funk had neither the intention nor the prospect of becoming either an artist or an economic leader: he commenced his activities as a minor provincial journalist. He was born at Trakehnen, in East Prussia, on the 18th of August, 1890, he came of a patrician Königsberg family, partly wealthy merchants, partly artists. He attended High School at Insterburg and the Universities at Berlin and Leipzig. At the conclusion of his studies he joined a minor provincial paper, as a reporter, and repeatedly changed his job during the next three years: finally, at the age of twenty-six, he reached Berlin, where he joined the *Berliner Börsenzeitung* on the introduction of the Pan-German Party. In 1916, during the war, it was really difficult for newspapers to find serviceable recruits, and the Pan-Germans took advantage of their opportunity to place Dr. Funk with this influential Stock Exchange paper. His task was to express the war wishes of the Pan-Germans and the heavy industries.

Dr. Walter Funk had recognised betimes that good connections are a determining factor in one's progress in life. He very soon married the daughter of a rich manufacturer at Remscheid, and so, without trouble, gained access to those who wielded influence in the Rhineland. In his paper he became the mouthpiece of the heavy industrialists, the coal barons, and, thanks to his connection with East Prussia, of the East Prussian military caste, and the large agriculturalists. At that time Dr. Funk had no economic programme of his own, neither had he as much theoretical grounding as perhaps Helfferich or Schacht. He had at his disposal, however, excellent inside information, for within his family circle he had intercourse with financiers and captains of industry, and so could predict many things which his colleagues, without such advantages, could not even guess at. He showed himself in a way grateful to the industrialists for this assistance, by publishing, for a reasonable remuneration, brochures of propaganda regarding the I.G. Farben concern, Krupp's and Thyssen's. In these brochures and in his articles in the *Berliner Börsenzeitung* he was for a thorough rationalisation of the mining industry. All along he represented the employers' point of view, and had no understanding of the desires of the workers in the matter of wages, and this too at a time when the fall of the mark had caused the purchasing value of wages to sink to nothing.

As the industrialists and the financiers were very much interested in the *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, Dr. Funk made great strides, and in 1926 he was already chief editor. Apart from him, Schwerdtfeger was one of the leading editors of the journal. In 1930 Dr. Funk and Schwerdtfeger were forced to relinquish their posts with the paper because there was a scandal rumoured accusing these two men of too affectionate a relationship. Dr. Funk, however, was married, and was already on very good terms

with the National Socialist Party, and so his ejection from the editorship brought advantages rather than the reverse.

Dr. Funk's path to the National Socialist Party was radically different from that of most other satellites of Hitler. In the years of his journalistic career Dr. Funk had not been at all anti-Semitic, on the contrary he had carried on very brisk intercourse with Jewish financiers. Through some Jewish banking directors he came into contact with Karl Helfferich and Dr. Hjalmar Schacht. The latter was then a member of the liberal party, and in his ideas, economic and otherwise, had always been thoroughly democratic and liberal.

If the financiers and industrialists had moved Dr. Funk to publish articles against the working classes, it was Helfferich and Schacht who used him as a mouthpiece on political currency questions. In 1922 and 1923 these two men persuaded Dr. Funk to publish articles concerning the stabilisation of German currency, and the problem of the Rentenmark, which were recognised as fundamental because they anticipated the plan of these two theorists, which was later put into practice. That Funk soon afterwards put forward a plea against Germany's excessive indebtedness to foreign countries is also to be ascribed to Dr. Schacht. Notably Funk was not only against a superabundance of short term loans, but also inveighed against those of long term, although at that time the latter were benefiting German industry as a whole in an excellent fashion. It was this distaste for foreign credits which brought him approval from the National Socialist Party; other proposals of his too, especially those for the pre-eminence of the home market, a national trade policy and the principle of increased production, were parallel with those of Hitler's economic advisers. Hitler had, at this stage, released himself to a certain degree from Gottfried Feder's

ideas regarding the 'casting of the yoke of usury' (*Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft*). The Party had its own economic department, at the head of which was Dr. Otto Wagener. Wagener was one of Funk's friends, and for a long time he had been endeavouring to draw the chief editor of the *Berliner Börsenzeitung* into the ranks of National Socialism. But Dr. Funk was slow openly to acknowledge Hitler, for the prospects of the Party at that time were by no means considered good, and the heavy industries were standing by hesitatingly. Dr. Funk was, therefore, not yet able to perceive his most advantageous course.

From the dilemma—on this side the heavy industries, on that the N.S.D.A.P.—in which Dr. Funk found himself, Dr. Wagener found the right way out. He sought to persuade Funk to effect a union between the Party and the moneybags. Dr. Funk realised in an instant the possibilities for his own position, which might result from his rôle of intermediary, and willingly acquiesced in Wagener's proposals. He introduced first Wagener, and then Hitler, to some of the influential industrialists of the Rhineland, and effected that connection with Thyssen and the banker Schröder, which was so invaluable to Hitler. As a consequence Funk became the intermediary through whom enormous monetary resources were passed over to Hitler by Rhenish industrialists, chiefly Thyssen and Krupp. These funds first rendered possible the rebuilding of the Party, the inundative propaganda, and the reorganisation of the S.A. cadres. Hitler has repeatedly expressed his special gratitude to Funk for his mediation here, and the latter by his action not only won Hitler's special confidence, but also obtained a complete insight into the Party's monetary sources and its financial affairs generally. Just how important this knowledge was can only be judged when one knows how often mismanage-

ment was carried out with the aid of these copious resources, and how, by this means, almost all the sub-leaders were delivered into the hands of Dr. Funk.

The ample funds provided by the Rhenish industrialists and financiers, which reached the Party via Dr. Funk, resulted in Hitler being able to show his first great election successes of 1928. The first twelve representatives of the N.S.D.A.P., 'Hitler's Twelve Apostles' as they called themselves, made their entry into the Reichstag.

When, therefore, at the end of 1930, Dr. Funk was compelled to make a reluctant exit from the *Berliner Börsenzeitung*, he was able to acknowledge the Party, and even to join the economic department, without the least risk. (Schwerdtfeger, his colleague who had to resign from the paper simultaneously, because of the scandal concerning the two, did not have such an agreeable fate. As a journalist, he tried for some years by great struggles to rebuild his fortunes. Eventually he took to passing on to foreign journalists information supplied at the press conferences for home reporters. For this crime he was condemned to death, but his sentence was finally commuted to one of penal servitude for life).

The future activities of Dr. Funk in the Economic Department of the Party were chiefly limited to obtaining as much support as possible apart from the Rhineland industrialists, to supervising money matters, to keeping by the renewal of credits the increasingly difficult party apparatus, and, more important still, its propaganda, in motion and running smoothly. But at the end of 1932, after the election defeat, even Dr. Funk was not in a position to procure more funds in sufficient quantity.

The Party debts had mounted to twelve million Reichsmarks, and Funk appeared very near to falling out of favour with Hitler. But this disgrace was spared him, for a month later Hitler became Reichschancellor, and then

the Party had at its disposal, almost without limitation, the money resources of the State. During the whole time Funk's relations with Schacht had been very friendly, and the latter had step by step accomplished his desertion from liberalism to National Socialism. These friendly relations had held even in the period immediately following the seizure of power, and again and again had facilitated the procuring of money for party aims alone: and they persisted at least until the Party was safely enough in the saddle to lay claim, without restriction, to the state revenues and the note-issuing office of the Reichsbank.

Thus one may understand in one way how Hitler is indebted to Dr. Funk.

It is, moreover, only natural that Dr. Funk was perfectly prepared to transfer to the National Socialist State the methods of his first period as adviser, when in 1938 Dr. Schacht refused to do justice to the relative demands of Hitler and Goering.

But at first Dr. Funk did not become Minister of Economics, for Hitler, after the seizure of power, appointed him Chief of the Press. But as Dr. Goebbels was ambitious for the sole control of the Press and Propaganda, the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda was formed, and Dr. Funk entered the Ministry as State Secretary to Dr. Goebbels. One can understand that he did not feel at all comfortable in this position, where he was completely out of place; he, therefore, set about obtaining a number of well-paid positions. Through these his desire to earn money and show off his artistic capabilities to better advantage could be met. Dr. Funk, the 'thwarted artist', became chairman of the managing committee of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, chairman of the Radio Corporation, and chairman of the Filmkreditbank. Dr. Goebbels, unbounded ideologically, rules the Press, Radio, the Films and Art, and at the same time Dr. Funk

superintends their finances. His home is a centre for high-brow soirées, at which Funk himself, as often as he is allowed, gives dilettante performances.

But he did not enjoy for long these very convenient and extremely lucrative posts, which satisfied so nicely his taste for ease and comfort.

When Goering undertook the accomplishment of the Four Year Plan, Dr. Schacht, at that time Minister of Economics and President of the Reichsbank, was an embarrassment to him, for he was a trained theorist, and a capable practitioner. After a violent conflict Dr. Schacht had first to resign his ministry, and Dr. Funk was called upon to take his place. Funk is inclined neither to theory nor to practical opposition, he is an opportunist, open to any influence, and consequently a suitable man for Goering.

In this capacity, Dr. Funk's chief task was to justify Germany's new trade agreements; he had, still with Schacht's co-operation, to assure the maintenance of Germany's supplies of raw materials. In this capacity Dr. Funk undertook, as we have mentioned by way of introduction, his great Balkan tour in October, 1938, which was intended to open a new era for German political economy. But this tour, as previously mentioned, was by no means the success proclaimed by Dr. Funk.

One would think that because of this his position has been severely shaken, but exactly the opposite is the case. For at this period arose a fresh and violent conflict with Dr. Schacht, who was still President of the Reichsbank. But this time it was Hitler himself who no longer had any use for Schacht's economic experience and masterly technique. In a great speech on the 29th of November, 1938, Schacht had expressed the opinion that the German national economy in the spring of 1938 had reached the peak of employment. He continued thus: 'When once the

national economy has pledged all existing labour and all available materials, any further expansion of credit is not only senseless but also harmful. For then new money cannot bring about any new production of goods, but will merely unleash competition for existing labour and raw materials. Instances have brought their consequences. On the 1st of April, 1938, the creation of credits by note issue was suspended and the financing of state contracts referred to taxation and the loan market.' Here Dr. Schacht merely represented orthodox opinion on national economy, for every new issue of notes could only mean inflation. This point of view by no means suited Hitler. The profligate finance of the Party and the Reich could not cover rearmament and military demands either with normal taxation or with gigantic loans made to the Party. Because Dr. Schacht refused to invoke the last expedient, unlimited note issue, he had to go. There was only one man who could be considered as his successor. He was ready, without question, to comply with Hitler's and Goering's wishes for an unlimited expansion of credit on the basis of note issues: he was not hide-bound with theoretical objections: he moreover had an understanding of the Party's requirements in the money line. The man was Dr. Funk.

What Hitler wanted of him primarily was expressed in a letter in which the Führer appointed his Economic Minister President of the Reichsbank in place of Dr. Schacht. Hitler gave Dr. Funk three tasks, the second of which was this: 'It will be your task to increase the range of the capital market and place it at the disposal of private enterprise.'

In reality this was to be a continuance of the function which Funk had to perform ten years before—to supply the Party with private means: only with this difference, that now the source of the money was to be an issue of notes via so-called 'private enterprise'. Since the begin-

ning of 1939 the printing press has been in unrestricted operation for private objects, public economy, rearmament and the Party. Accounts are settled with 'tax-vouchers' (*Steuergutscheine*) which are not due before 1940, a state budget is no longer published, because the expenditure is so enormous that the officials only dare give revenue figures, but not the other side of the account, with its bottomless deficit. But Dr. Funk does not regard it his duty, as Dr. Schacht did, to employ a rational and productive economic policy; he wishes, and is obliged, to meet the desires of Hitler and Goering, without any consideration for German economy.

Dr. Funk was never a theorist. He has always been dependent on prompters and advisers, and he therefore knew what to do when he took over the Reichsbank. He immediately created a considerably enlarged directorate, which not only made proposals under Dr. Funk's supposed guidance, but also arrived at all important and responsible decisions. Since this directorate was composed of very experienced members of the banking profession, and a section of Dr. Schacht's former colleagues, Dr. Funk was at least able to avoid making clumsy mistakes. He seldom has any say in the resolutions, but leaves it to other advisers, instead of himself, to bear the responsibility. In spite of this, State Secretary Dr. Brinckmann, one of Dr. Schacht's most capable experts, would no longer be responsible for covering Dr. Funk's decisions where the directorate was concerned, and so another clever man in the Reichsbank handed in his resignation immediately after Dr. Funk's appointment.

At present the Reichsbank is practically controlled by the Berlin banker, Melchior, whilst the Ministry of Trade is under Dr. Reinhardt, Funk's secretary. After Dr. Funk, in the spring of 1939, had experienced another signal failure over the economic negotiations with Italy, he hence-

forth called on Dr. Wohltat, the previous chief of the Foreign Exchange Office, for such foreign tours. It was the latter who, in the spring of 1939, had that famous talk with Mr. Hudson, the English Under-Secretary of State, regarding international credits for Germany. Thus the three posts which Funk held were practically filled by his deputies, and he merely covered with his person such decisions and resolutions as expressed the wish of Hitler and Goering.

Therefore the importance of Funk's personality for the present régime in Germany can easily be understood. For the whole economy, the creation of money, and the direction of trade and economic policy, has been placed in the hands of a man who enjoys Hitler's complete confidence, has no theoretical or practical scruples, is a compliant tool, and apart from all this, has always known how to fill the Party moneybags, and keep them full.

In contrast with most of Hitler's other Ministers, who have been brought together by their energy and capacity for work, Dr. Funk is fond of ease. At the moment he holds three important and leading offices, but in spite of this he does not over-exert himself. He is lazy and corpulent, and is extraordinarily fond of drink, as a man he is friendly and good-natured, he prefers to play the pleasant companion rather than the superior. In the period before he joined the N.S.D.A.P. he was just as servile towards Jewish industrialists and bankers as he is now towards his superior leaders. He has at his disposal a liberal education, and by reason of his long years of journalistic activity has had reasonable practice in handling present-day economic questions. But neither in education, nor in energy, neither in his own ideas, nor in the slightest degree in his judgment is he fitted for this post in the main artery of the Reich: the post of President of the Reichsbank. He prefers to follow his personal inclinations, especially for music

and the films, and is more frequently seen in the company of artists, than with tried economists at directors' meetings.

Funk certainly belongs to the more good-natured characters of Hitler's circle. His crime lies simply in the fact that it is he who is entrusted with the most responsible position regarding economics. It is clear that since Dr. Schacht's resignation Germany has entered on a rocky road which must lead to a fall. The internal strain in German economics has increased appreciably since the beginning of 1939, and the risk of a *dénouement* by way of war was brought ever nearer. German currency, which has been undermined at home, has practically lost all connection with world markets. German exports are indeed constantly shown by their distorted German statistics to be on the increase, but actually the effects of the foreign boycott are becoming more catastrophic every month.

One way out of the present abyss of German industry, which still appears possible to Dr. Funk, is the complete subordination to military considerations of the various economic problems. Almost all the departmental chiefs in the Ministry of Economics are Generals in high positions who judge individual measures merely from the point of view of usefulness, or the reverse, for rearmament. One of the chief assets with which he can credit himself is the construction of the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal. This work is supposed to serve his favourite notion, the formation of an economic axis from the North Sea to the Black Sea, and also to give direct communication by water between Germany and Asia Minor, even as far as Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. As Dr. Funk is not in a position, as Helfferich or Schacht would be, classically to shape the national economy, he endeavours to deceive the non-economic minds in the Party into believing that he thinks internationally. He has often said that the title of 'Minister of

Economics' worries him. The title of Minister of World Economics would suit him better, for the influence of Germany, in economics, as in politics, has already passed beyond the national bounds of home affairs.

It is obvious that in these statements Dr. Funk can only impress Germany, and not the rest of the world. Funk has forced out Schacht, and supplanted him. Dr. Schacht with all his faults was capable, and recognised as a financial genius, but the present generation and posterity will have little recognition for Dr. Funk either as a political economist or as an economic leader. He is Hitler's tool, and nothing more.



(Right to left). DR. LEY, DR. FRICK, M. COULONDRE (FRENCH AMBASSADOR
IN REBELL) AND DR. FINK IN CONVERSATION IN JANUARY 1930

THE ELEVENTH APOSTLE

*Dr. Wilhelm Frick,
Hitler's Stirrup Holder*

IF ADOLF HITLER, Austrian paper-hanger's assistant and corporal in the last world war, is to-day President and Chancellor of the Great German Reich, then he must thank Dr. Wilhelm Frick, a dry German police official, formally for his post. For Hitler, an Austrian, would never have been able to assume any official office in Germany if he had not become a German subject. Until 1930 all Provincial Governments, including of course the State Government of Germany, had set themselves on their guard against granting 'The Bohemian Corporal' naturalisation papers. The method by which these were finally obtained ranks worthily with the other tactics of the 'honourable, trustworthy, upright, Nordic National Socialist movement'. For Hitler's naturalisation was obtained through a palpable misuse of office by Doctor Wilhelm Frick. From January 1930 this man, as the first National Socialist Minister, occupied the post of Minister for Home Affairs and Education in Thuringia. One of the first proposals which Frick made on taking over office was that of entrusting a State position in Thuringia to Hitler, who would thus automatically become a Thuringian and so a German. But Baum, the Prime Minister of Thuringia at that time, who was a representative of the middle class, publicly declared against this step: 'I have rejected a request put to me by Dr. Frick. This was to the effect that he and I, independently of the Cabinet, should entrust a State position to Herr

Hitler. The refusal was made at a Cabinet meeting, when it was confirmed by majority that the Government was averse to procuring Thuringian citizenship for Herr Hitler by means of a *pro forma* appointment.'

This declaration was unequivocal enough to induce any other conscientious Minister either to comply or to hand in his resignation. But not Dr. Frick. He felt himself bound neither by democratic principles nor by decency. As Minister for Home Affairs, Dr. Frick was free to appoint gendarmes or assistant police without the special consent of the ministerial council, or any of the superior authorities. Although, therefore, the Cabinet was clearly against Hitler's naturalisation, Dr. Frick made use of a short absence of Baum to appoint Hitler commissar of the gendarmie at Hildburghausen in Thuringia. To the many honourable designations which have been applied to Hitler in the past and in the present, that of policeman at Hildburghausen must be added as the most official. In this way the present chief of the German Reich surreptitiously obtained admittance to German nationality. Dr. Frick had grossly violated an official decision, and also committed a blatant felony against his Prime Minister. But this did not prevent his continuing in office as Thuringian Minister of Home Affairs, and guarding against dismissal by all available means.

This was certainly not the first piece of perfidy which Dr. Frick, this dutiful official, so correct in his external demeanour, had been guilty of. For this self-same man—again as Hitler's stirrup-holder—on the night of the 8th of November, 1923, as an official of the Munich Police had, in clear violation of all law, given his troops the order not to fire on the National Socialist putschists, nor to use any force. On the same night he was arrested and sentenced to one year and three months' penal servitude for treason and gross breach of duty. This, however, did not stop him

a few years later from committing a fresh breach of duty in the execution of office, for Hitler's benefit: but this time he was not punished. In 1930 National Socialism had already become such a power in the State that one no longer ventured to dismiss a Minister for a 'harmless' breach of his duty.

For these violations of law Frick was later amply rewarded by Hitler, for in 1933 he became Minister of the Interior, 'the Upholder of German Justice and of German observance of duty', and not only that but on the 1st of September, 1939, one of the six members of the inner German War Cabinet.

Among the supreme leaders of National Socialism, Dr. Frick is the only proper bureaucrat and official. When one has a clear picture of this chief official one may easily judge from his nature the nature of all other officials in the National Socialist administrative and legislative machinery.

Dr. Frick was born on the 13th of March, 1877, at Kaiserslautern in the Palatinate. His father was a teacher, and his mother came of an old family of officials. He attended first the High School at Kaiserslautern, matriculated in 1896, and then went on to study philology and law at the universities of Munich, Göttingen, and Berlin. Although he only graduated as Doctor of Law at Heidelberg in 1901, he had already started his official career as an official in 1900. He was Referendar (junior barrister) in his home town of Kaiserslautern. From the start Dr. Frick was keenly nationalist, and he not only used these opinions of his in party politics, but flaunted them before influential nationalist patrons in order to make more rapid headway with his career. In 1903 he passed his assessor examination at Speyer. He then took over the duties of Government Assessor in Upper Bavaria, joined the police side, and became solicitor to the administration.

On the 1st of October, 1907, he took over the post of Chief Attorney (*Bezirksamtmann*) in the Pirmasens District, where he stayed for ten years, until the third year of the war (1917). In July, 1917 he was transferred to the police offices in Munich.

The question why this bold champion of National Socialism took no part in the last world war has given rise to some embarrassment among the National Socialists. For Dr. Frick is extraordinarily well built, although rather lean, and leanness itself is no bar to enlistment for war service, although Dr. Frick has pleaded, on the one hand, that he was too narrow-chested to be accepted, and on the other hand that, of his department at Pirmasens, he was the only official who during the war was unfit for service and that therefore he must have been regarded as 'indispensable' in his function at that time. In any case he remained, although only thirty-seven, on the 'Home Front' the whole time, and at his post as official. Although he declared himself to be 'indispensable' at Pirmasens, he was nevertheless transferred to Munich in the middle of 1917. Throughout the war and after the collapse he was vociferously national, and thus gained the special confidence of Pöhner, the Chief of Police, who had taken over the Police in Munich in May, 1919, after the breakdown of Communist rule there. Pöhner not only drew on Dr. Frick as a political informer, but also made use of his office as a liaison officer with the Reichswehr, and with national and 'Right' clubs which were then being set up.

In his official capacity Dr. Frick, as chief of the Munich State Police Department, therefore had the opportunity of coming into contact with Hitler and his Party for the first time. This omnipotent police official by no means ranged himself, as was his duty, against this Party, which was still illegal, and often directed against the State; he was rather a co-operator and accomplice. When, during the *Kapp-*

Putsch in the spring of 1920, Hitler and Hermann Esser drafted inciting and provocative posters, Dr. Frick immediately gave his consent to their being posted up in the Munich streets, although countless conflicts and acts of hooliganism took place around them. He sheltered completely the tendencies of National Socialism, and so more or less produced the connection between Hitler and the Bavarian Government. When, in the autumn of 1921, Pöhner, on account of his political escapades, had to retire, and the Home Minister Schweyer (the man whom Hess carried off to the mountains on the day of the *putsch*) took a line against Hitler, Dr. Frick, by way of punishment, was degraded to a minor police commissariat at Au, near Munich.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that this excellent police official found no opportunity there to do what he could for Hitler's Party. This was the time of the 'Feme murders'. The Social Democratic Deputy Gareis, to mention only one of many, was slain by the National Socialists. Dr. Frick was the police official with all the stamps at his disposal, and issued officially authentic passes for the murderers, under assumed names. By this means he assisted many Party friends of Hitler, and proved murderers, in their flight, and among them the murderer of the Deputy Gareis. In addition, Frick found no occasion for the intervention of the police when these murders were reported in his district.

The influence of Captain Röhm and other 'Right' politicians brought about his reinstatement in his post with the Munich Police in the spring of 1923. Once more with his own peculiar disregard of the laws of the State, Frick placed his office at Hitler's service. The latter at this time was openly working for the *putsch*. In the first Government, which had been publicly announced by Hitler on the eve of the Bürgerbräu *putsch*, Frick was to be appointed

Chief of Police. But Dr. Frick was unable to take up office, for on the same night he was arrested.

A section of the official report of the Bavarian Committee of investigation into the Hitler *putsch* reads thus: 'The chief blame for the failure of the police after the proclamation of revolution in the Bürgerbräu cellars lies on Oberamtmann Frick.' For at the decisive moment of the *putsch*, when the commanding officer of the police intended to intervene, his superior, Oberamtmann Frick, gave him the following order: 'Maintain order *in the street* and await further developments. It is *not yet known what is afoot*.'

As we have said, Frick for this gross violation of duty was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment. Actually he was confined a bare five months. In April, 1924, he was released on probation, and the next month he was elected to the Reichstag as representative on the register of the German National Freedom Party (*Deutsch Völkischen Freiheitspartei*). This was the début of the National Socialist German Workers' Party in the Reichstag, cloaked by the Register of the D.V.F.P. For at that time the N.S.D.A.P. was officially banned.

Following his rather inglorious action in November, 1923, Dr. Frick lost his post. He now fully transferred his interests to politics. From May, 1924, he has been uninterruptedly a member of the Reichstag, at first for his adopted 'cloaking' party, and then, in 1928, on the register of the National Socialists. He has used this time exclusively in building up the Party machinery. Thuringia was his special province, and he accomplished so much there that at the end of 1929 the Party could claim such election gains that they had to be admitted into the Government. For fourteen months Dr. Frick, as their official representative, was Minister of Education and Home Affairs.

According to that famous principle of National Social-

ism, that there is no objectivity, or indeed justice, but the interests of the Party must predominate, a principle which we have already encountered in Goering, Ley, and others, Dr. Frick took over office with unmistakable subjectivity: 'I have come to Thuringia,' he explained in an initiatory speech, 'to put our National Socialistic principles into practice in your beautiful land.'

And in another of his notorious speeches: 'For us National Socialists, Ministerial portfolios are not an object in themselves, but merely a means of liberating Germany.' Here, of course, 'liberating Germany' meant the seizure by his Party.

Dr. Frick continued to use his Ministerial powers in a most profligate and shameless fashion. He not only saw to it that a whole host of his Party friends and companions were 'elevated' to the best-paid and the most influential positions, but also there was no mistaking his point of view that Thuringian legislation as a whole must, from that time, be reshaped on a purely National Socialistic basis.

Whoever in 1930 observed Dr. Frick's official activities could have had a foretaste of National Socialist Government. The first thing that he did was to abolish the religious prayer in the schools and substitute a new 'prayer'. This contained a systematic incitement of the children against Jewry and also the French. Children were to use the 'Hitler greeting'. They were to be made familiar with the basic principles of Party doctrine, and educated entirely in National Socialist tendencies. Frick called this 'education in love of the Fatherland' and 'encouragement of the German consciousness'.

His second step was to endeavour to put the Jew laws proposed by Streicher on the statute book in Thuringia. Jews were dismissed from all official positions, in universities particularly, and in place of Jewish scholars, who were pre-eminent in Jena and Weimar, he appointed National

Socialist race-theorists, including that noted fanatic Dr. Günther. When, however, he wished to make the Privatdozent Dr. Ruge, who had been ejected from Heidelberg on account of his insanity, professor of philosophy at Jena, even the very nationally inclined committee of professors there rebelled, and he was unable to get him appointed. Dr. Frick's official personnel was naturally immediately purged of every one whose opinions were not rigorously National Socialist, and although his colleagues labelled this 'the worst kind of spoils system' (*Schlimmste Futterkrippenwirtschaft*), Frick was not to be dissuaded from indiscriminately showing all opposing officials the door.

It is not surprising that his ministerial colleagues soon had enough of his activities. But it was soon proved that Dr. Frick was a limpet (*Kleber*)—in no circumstance to be induced to retire voluntarily. He was far too much at home in his post, and could do much for the Party, to be bothered by Parliamentary customs or personal irritations. When finally in April, 1931, he was compelled, very much against his will, to resign by a brusque note of no confidence of all other parties, he let his resentment over these chicaneries boil over in the following statement:

'The German People's Party (*Deutsche Volks-Partei*) indeed thought, when with heavy hearts they consented to our participation in the Government, that their superior statecraft would soon succeed in making us bloodstained tyros compliant, and in compromising us whenever possible in the eyes of our supporters. When, however, in the superior state wisdom of their critical eye, we proved ourselves repeatedly untutored scholars—then coalition with us lost weight with the German People's Party, and they sought to rid themselves of us at the next convenient opportunity. . . . They took, as a welcome pretext for the final break, an article in the *Weimarer Nationalsozialist*, which dealt critically with the German People's Party in the

Reich and in the Provinces (apart from Thuringia). On the 1st of April, 1931—*Bismarck's birthday*—voting arm-in-arm with Social Democrats and Communists, the German People's Party accomplished the overthrow of the National Government in Thuringia, although any rightful reason for it had long been disposed of by the loyal declaration of the National Socialist provincial Parliamentary section.'

Originally Dr. Frick had set himself the task of transforming the national government in Thuringia into a national government of the Reich, and consequently took it as a personal insult to be beaten by a Parliamentary, a Democratic vote, and so to lose the opportunity of continuing to work for the Party in his biassed way.

For Dr. Frick's aim was not only to be Hitler's personal stirrup-holder. He had imagined that by way of the provinces of Germany the whole Party might be hoisted into the saddle: at that time the prospect of a Hitler Government in the Reich itself was frankly poor.

When Hitler, twenty-one months later, was appointed German Reichschancellor by von Hindenburg, he took into his Ministry one solitary man of his National Socialist Party friends as a Minister with a definite portfolio: Dr. Wilhelm Frick became Minister of Home Affairs. Goering was at first appointed merely as Minister of Home Affairs for Prussia and Minister without portfolio. So Frick was amply rewarded for his 'stirrup-holding' services. This was also an acknowledgment by Hitler that Frick was the only trained official who had held steadfastly to the Party, and he was now to preserve his bureaucratic capabilities and knowledge beside Hitler in the Government. Last, but not least, Hitler knew from Frick's Thuringian days that he could rely absolutely on this man.

Dr. Frick, as opposed to his habit, did not abuse the trust placed in him by the State, which now, of course, meant Hitler. He accomplished his whole task immediately after

taking over office, just as Goering did. The main point was that the Reich Government, now in Hitler's power, should have a completely free hand in all provinces and municipalities. Frick's first work, therefore, was to set aside regionalism in the Reich. He systematically set about dissolving the individual provincial governments, eliminating the provincial representative assemblies and uniting all powers in the hands of the central Government at Berlin. Within a few months he succeeded, by the same ruthless and radical means as employed by Goering in Prussia, in bringing the other provinces and municipalities into line. Provincial and municipal independence ceased; there were no longer any provincial assemblies or special governmental systems, the whole gigantic machinery of administration was lodged as a unified whole in the central offices at Berlin.

It was only a matter of course that Dr. Frick imported into the Reich the methods he had preached in Thuringia : ' I have come to power to put our National Socialist principles into practice . '

This in terms of practice meant the ruthless extermination of any contrary expression of opinion, dissolution of hostile parties, imprisonment of personal adversaries, dismissal of all officials who were not confirmed Party members, and their replacement by trusted adherents; and further, the conversion of schools and education in a National Socialist sense, dismissal of all Jews, the passing of anti-Jewish legislation, and the suspension of objectivity.

Bearing in mind his previous activities, one could hardly expect anything else. What is noteworthy, however, is that within the Party Dr. Frick passed as decidedly restrained, and faded into the background for a while because he was not very vociferous or rowdy, and carried out all his decrees and measures as it were in cold blood, yet none the less radically or pitilessly, for all that. In the years 1935 to 1938 especially, when all the technical administrative measures

had been accomplished, and thanks to his activities all administrative positions in the Third Reich were unadulteratedly National Socialist, Frick took more or less a back seat. Hitler most certainly knew for what he had to thank this man, but the old bureaucrat worked chiefly from his desk in the Ministry, and was consequently hardly noticed by the public, or felt to be a burden. Only just before the war was he thrown into the foreground again, and his appointment as one of the six members of the War Cabinet not only proves that Hitler, now as before, places the greatest reliance on him, but also that in the critical war years Dr. Frick's activities must be brought into special prominence.

As a person, Dr. Wilhelm Frick is modest and rather awkward. Although he is very tall, he is lean, and has nothing in common with the broad and weighty figures of most other prominent National Socialists. Even when he had become a Minister for Home Affairs in the Reich he still lived in a modest pension, first in Munich, and then in Berlin, with his simple and rather plump wife and his three children.

In private life he has always remained the dry official and bureaucrat, which his whole education and his earlier activities predestined him to be. It is just this unassuming manner of the man and his unostentatious bearing, and a certain timidity where the public is concerned, which have played their part in making Frick neither so popular nor so feared in the Reich as the other leaders are, and it is this, too, which has prevented people from forming a really clear idea of his activities.

Just as Rosenberg has rather from the background created the theoretical substructure for the National Socialist movement, so Frick is the sole originator and creator of the National Socialist administrative machinery. Dr. Frick's activities must expand, and his tasks must be-

come greater in the same proportion as the interior administration is subjected to a greater load. But as opposed to many other ambitious politicians, there is no doubt that he is content with his position, and asks for no higher office than that which he at present holds. He completely fulfilled his ambition when he hoisted Hitler and his Party into the saddle. It was his life work, as an unquestioning and trusting Party man, quite biassedly and blindly, even to the neglect of his previous sworn duties, often by perjury and crime, to carry out his Party ideals against the previous government. This design has succeeded beyond all expectations, and he can actually boast that he has achieved all that he intended in far greater measure than he ever expected. The official in Dr. Frick has no further ambition.

But it is just this bureaucratic nature of Dr. Frick, acting silently and from within, which indicates, perhaps, far more clearly than the clamour and rowdiness of the Party, how the interior framework of the National Socialists and so of the Reich has altered. And for this reason the person of Dr. Frick, which in its human aspect would otherwise be quite uninteresting, acquires quite a special importance. The more so when hardly at all in Germany, still less abroad, is it known how often and by what means Dr. Wilhelm Frick helped Hitler to power.

THE TWELFTH APOSTLE

*Baldur von Schirach,
the Idol of German Youth*

IT DOES NOT MATTER,' proclaims Baldur von Schirach repeatedly in his speeches to German Youth, 'that in these days there are young people growing up outside the educational experience of the National Socialist Movement with its world philosophy: but young Germany must, in its infancy, be led to the ideas of National Socialism, and become saturated with them, for through these ideas Germany has recovered her honour. We demand totalitarianism of the National Socialist youth, not only over confessional organisations, but over the entire youth of the nation.'

There are four established principles which Schirach preaches over and over again to his boys and girls:

1. Blood, other and better than that of the youth of the rest of the world, flows in the veins of the youth of Germany. They are therefore called upon to educate themselves to become super-beings; they must fear no one, and they must never inter-marry with a different race, since any other race, because it is not Aryan, must be inferior.

2. The Party stands above all else that might have importance for youth: above God and religion, knowledge and objectivity, and even above the family and its traditions.

3. The military aims of the nation must be kept in mind; the youth of Germany must become hard and re-

sistant, and not be allowed to forget in their incidental games the *leit-motif* of militarisation.

4. All study and all education, everything which children have to absorb, can only stand by virtue of its Germanic quality (*Deutschtum*), and only acquires practical importance in connection with the great national idea.

In one of the first challenges which Baldur von Schirach in 1932 addressed to the professors in the name of the German students, the following pregnant sentences occurred :

‘Where a science as such is in question, no student will examine his conscience for a moment; and thousands who acknowledge themselves German will, by this very acknowledgment, place themselves under the protection of a science. Gentlemen, in your professorial chairs, let be your famous “objectivity”! Never has anyone staked his life on that! It has always been a topic for the lecture-room, and if it be asked why—why! because it is the most convenient way of avoiding pointed questions. One stands aloof from the flow of life, deludes oneself into the rôle of an observer who judges from a “higher watch-tower”. This higher watch-tower is the most conceited self-deception that has ever existed.’ (Challenge of the National Socialist Students addressed to the German professors in the students’ journal, *Deutsche Revolution*, No. 5, February, 1932).

Here again is to be found, just as in Goering, Goebbels, Ley, Rosenberg, and many other German leaders, that biassed avowal of subjectivity with which children in Germany are inoculated from their earliest years upwards. Literally, from their earliest years: for from their fifth birthday all boys and girls must be absorbed by the Hitler Youth (H.J.) or the League of German Girls (B.d.M). One has become accustomed to describing all German youth, even up to conscription age, as Hitler Youth, but in a more precise division Hitler Youth only lasts up to age 10. From

age 10 to about age 16 they belong to the National Socialist League of Schoolchildren (*Schülerbund*) and after age 16 the Students' League (*Studentenbund*) comes into its own.

Baldur von Schirach is Reich Youth Leader (*Reichsjugendführer*), and he has under his care all children from 5 years of age until they are nearly 20. In addition to this he is the formal leader of the *Studentenbund*, whilst the Hitler Youth and the *Schülerbund* have their own subordinate leaders (*Unterführer*). For the sake of organisation it is necessary for every district and special group to have its own leader too, but the general responsibility for German youth rests essentially with Baldur von Schirach. In order to emphasise the bond existing between himself and every individual member of the H.J. and B.d.M., Baldur von Schirach addresses every single one of them with the familiar 'Du', and every child is constrained to be on the same intimate terms with the *Reichsjugendführer*, and thus, as it were, to acknowledge that he or she belongs to the big family of youth.

For German youth shall thus be distinguished consciously and intentionally from all other groups and fused into a special community.

No child is allowed to be lost to the Party and Hitler's service. No child shall be brought up religiously or believe in God. No child shall set parents and family above service for the Fatherland. But every child is educated in the extravagant conceit that he belongs to a class of 'lordly beings' (*Herrenklasse*), that his blood is better than that of the children of all other nations, and that by reason of this he is born for loftier ends. By this theory new ground is broken in the relations of child and parent, and in sexual education. As regards the latter, youths and girls must, from a very early age, bear in mind that in their choice of a mate their superior blood is to mix with

blood of equivalent superiority, and that thereby a racially valuable posterity is to be bred by selection. Not special intellectual gifts nor noble sentiments shall be the standard in choosing a mate, but only physical fitness and abounding health, strength, and pure 'blood'. Thereby the 'inferior races', as perhaps the Jews and other non-Aryans, are excluded from the officially desirable marriage-market, and not these alone but also cripples, the deformed, the diseased and weaklings.

Schirach is educating this New Youth according to the ideas of Alfred Rosenberg. He does not mind if by so doing he tears the family to tatters and destroys the foundations of civil life. Children are consciously set on a plane many degrees above their parents if the latter are not already convinced National Socialists or have put themselves on their guard against this national education.

The complete inclusion of youth is a necessity for National Socialism if it intends to secure its domination for generations to come. German youth is not allowed even to guess that there are elsewhere in the world such things as democracy, individualism or personal freedom. The older generation in Germany to-day may have grown up with different ideals, it may to a considerable extent even be ranged against the present régime, but youth must not and shall not believe in other things. National Socialism must be their religion, their philosophy, their science.

The Soviet with its Komsomol, and Italy with its Balilla, have already aimed at similar objects; in both these movements, however, military education has been emphasised. But we must lay to Baldur von Schirach's charge this education for the production of 'lordly beings' (*Herrenmenschen*) or super-beings (*Uebermenschen*), which arises from the notion of 'superior blood'.

It is, of course, natural that many side issues manifest

themselves which connect with community education and the favourite 'selection of blood'. Much has been written in this connection about youthful demoralisation and delinquencies. These things will not be overrated here. They exist in Germany, no doubt, even as they do in the Soviet, but they should perhaps be appraised more as transitory manifestations. For Baldur von Schirach has so far consciously assigned to this side of development less importance than he has to education for pure National Socialism and Totalitarianism. Schirach is the guardian with the flaming sword whose task it is to see that youth does not step *out* of the Paradise of National Socialist thought. He is a stern and trusty guardian. Woe to the girl or boy who wishes to go his own way! Woe to those parents who dare to obstruct the national education of their children! Outlawry and persecution, expulsion from the community, destruction of their whole career awaits for certain those children who do not reconcile themselves to these principles.

And yet it would be wrong to describe Baldur von Schirach as a jailer of German Youth in the sense that the term may be applied to Dr. Ley in connection with the German Workers. Quite the opposite.

The Youth Leader is idolised by a large section of the German youth. Youth always seeks support in a personality who catches their imagination and can be looked up to. Baldur von Schirach answers this demand perfectly. He is young, handsome and attractive, a good speaker, cultured and pleasant. Although outwardly he gives the impression of being somewhat gentle and feminine, yet within he is energetic, undeviating and uncompromising. He is slavishly devoted to Hitler, for he was straightway elevated to his present position while yet in his adolescence, and so has had no other experience in his life apart from his unquestioning adherence to the Führer.

Schirach is by far the youngest of the present rulers of Germany, and of Hitler's most intimate acquaintances. He was born in Weimar in 1907, and was the son of the director of the theatre there. He went to the Weimar Gymnasium, and was originally intended to study philosophy. But in 1924 Hitler held a meeting in Weimar, and Baldur von Schirach was among the audience. He immediately fell a victim to Hitler's peculiar fascination, and thereafter had only one aim—to go to Munich as soon as possible, and so be near his idol. In the autumn of 1927 he succeeded in getting Hitler to give some lectures to the students at Munich University, which resulted in the greater part of the students joining the N.S.D.A.P. He organised his own National Socialist Students' Section, and a comparatively short time afterwards his enthusiasm and talent for organisation succeeded in persuading not only the vast majority of the Munich students to enter the Party, but also most other universities of Germany to do the same.

Hitler recognised forthwith Schirach's particular bent, and besides he was personally flattered by the adulation and idolatry of this young student. As early as 1928 he entrusted him with the formation of the National Socialist *Studentenbund*, and a year later appointed him as the representative of youth in the Party management (*Reichsparteileitung*). It is not surprising that the twenty-one year old Schirach immediately deserted his studies, which were certainly not so important, and devoted himself entirely to his organising activities. In 1932, that is before the seizure of power, about two-thirds of all German students belonged to the N.S.D.A.P., thanks to Schirach's tireless efforts. (Naturally the number of students who are members of the party or who are compliant with its doctrines has now increased to nearly a hundred per cent).

After the inclusion of the students, Schirach next devoted himself to the secondary pupils (*Mittelschüler*). But



SCHIRACH, THE IDOL OF GERMAN YOUTH.

it was only after the complete transfer of power that the incorporation into the Party of the schoolchildren under his leadership could ensue, for from that date the new scholastic and educational methods supplied the appropriate lever.

In spite of his extreme youth Schirach occupies one of the most responsible and wearing posts in the Party. As the usual methods of propaganda—newspapers, books, radio, theatres and cinemas—will not suffice to lay hold on the young, expressly adapted talks must be composed, sub-leaders and teachers be suitably trained, and constant supervision must be exercised over the organisations themselves.

Schirach, like most responsible men, is tireless and unsparing in his activities. From one year's end to the other he chases about in aeroplanes, cars, trains, and every means of transport at his disposal. He holds lectures and makes speeches with the briefest of intervals for rest, is present at parades and sports-meetings, and is overwhelmed with reports and proposals. He is one of the few who believe they can rely implicitly on hero worship and popularity. He mixes at any time with his following, chats familiarly with them, is lavish with portraits and his autograph, and seeks to increase his popularity by taking a special interest in every individual. In the course of the struggles of the National Socialists for power, four enthusiasts still in their youth were shot, not all by deliberate attack. In every part of Germany Schirach founded hostels in memory of the dead, grandiose tombs were erected for these martyrs, and speeches made recalling their deeds; for one of the chief aims of Schirach is to inoculate youth with a sense of its own importance and significance to Germany. Consciousness of self and lordliness (*Herrentum*) shall be enhanced by all available means. As any outstanding achievements of youth are well accentuated, every boy and every girl will

be stimulated and incited to similar acts of sacrifice and self denial.

Wherever Schirach goes in Germany, the boys and girls are summoned in full force to prepare a worthy welcome for him. If he enters a barber's shop children gather to see how their *Reichsjugendführer* has his hair cut. At the same time the precaution is taken that Schirach, like all other leaders, is always surrounded by a bodyguard, which in this case is not composed of black-clad storm-troopers, but of members of the Hitler Youth, picked and powerful.

The organisation which Schirach has built up is extremely simple. Following the notorious catchword of the relinquishment of objectivity, it is dependent on the fact that the members of the Hitler Youth enjoy all rights and special honours, while all children outside the body are, as it were, outlawed and despicable. The effect of this is that, not only do all children long to become members of the Hitler Youth as soon as possible but, also, most parents see to it that they do, for fear lest their offspring be branded as citizens of the lowest grade. In numerous families where the parents are bitter opponents of the system, sad battles have been fought, because the children, against their parents' wishes, have wished to join the Hitler Youth to avoid being mishandled and despised by their playmates. Apart from this, most children are flattered that they have better blood and are destined to be 'lordly beings' (*Herrnmenschen*) when they become members of the movement. The moment the opportunity was given by scholastic and educational legislation to make the distinction between the members and non-members of Hitler Youth and of the League of German Girls, it was easy enough to induce almost every child to join, and to flourish practical proofs of his allegiance.

Naturally it is Schirach's task, not only to see that as far as possible all children enter his organisation, but also

to arouse the bent for military education. To-day young Germany has practically no other ideal but that of physical fitness. In boys and girls too, by means of sport, interest in contest, camp life, and war, is playfully aroused. The tiniest lad holds a rifle in his hand, and at gymnastics they learn trench-digging and taking cover, they have to march in rank and file, and early on in their secondary school days are initiated into the secrets of rifle, machine-gun, gun and air-craft construction. All this requires an organisation, but it also demands a particular devotion, which is supplied by Schirach and his sub-leaders with sincere enthusiasm and self-sacrifice.

As long as there was any opposition in Germany, Schirach had to swallow the gibe that his youth organisation was a menagerie or a stud: for in the Third Reich the breeding of 'blood' carries more weight and has more importance than the completely military conception prevalent in Italy and the Soviet.

Out of this picture of youth-education arises, as it were, of its own accord, the character of Baldur von Schirach. He is, with Rosenberg, one of the few idealists of the Party, only in his case the good characteristics are more highly developed. He serves the Party and his own particular task with his whole being, understands children and leaves them to discover his real devotion. This is the reason for his popularity with most of his 'family'. But his idealism is, naturally, narrow. He is thoroughly biassed and fanatical, and he is impatient with anything that does not chime with his philosophy. He does not stand at that high level of education, judgment and intelligence that one would expect elsewhere of a leader of youth so unlimited in his sway. But he may be classed, without a doubt, among the few good characters of the Party. He is not brutal even if he is energetic, he is not inhuman but only unyielding, he is not to be bribed, for he in his earliest years attained

THE MARTYRS

THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY may be comparatively young—a bare twenty years old—but the number of its martyrs is great. They are all surrounded by a halo of glory, extolled in songs, ballads, romances, and plays, they are held up as examples to every German, man, woman or child; but almost all these martyrs, at least the official ones, were dangerous criminals, murderers, swindlers, ‘fancy men’, or at best adventurers.

There are official and unofficial martyrs. This is the official list:

Albert Leo Schlageter, a convicted swindler.

Horst Wessel, a prostitute’s bully.

Otto Planetta, murderer.

Wilhelm Holzweber, murderer.

Otto Scheubner-Richter, political adventurer, who fell with fifteen comrades in front of the Feldherrnhalle at Munich on the 9th of November, 1923, in Hitler’s first *putsch*.

Apart from these there is a crowd of Party members who fell in Party fights and brawls, were dispatched because of attempted assassinations, or were executed by their own comrades under ‘lynch law’.

These are the unofficial martyrs:

Captain Ernst Röhm, shot by his friend Hitler.

Gregor Strasser, for a time leader of the N.S.D.A.P., shot by Goering.

Edmund Heines, shot by Hitler.

Gauleiter Ernst, shot by Goering.

Then there are some 300 former leaders of the National Socialist Party and the S.A. who lost their lives at the hands of Himmler's myrmidons in the 'blood bath' from the 30th of June to the 4th of July, 1934.

Here we intend to deal merely with the official martyrs. The sixteen who fell on the 9th of November, 1923, were admired and revered as the unknown soldiers, as it were, of the movement. Yet Scheubner-Richter, who was among them, was Hitler's principal adviser. He was a courageous man in spite of his adventurous disposition, a true leader and talented. The remains of these dead were interred with great pomp in the Feldherrenhalle, before which in their day they had fallen. The anniversary of that ill-starred *putsch* is solemnly kept as a great day of remembrance, tokens of mourning for the dead are paraded, every year in a speech of remembrance they are held up as a shining example of the courage of sacrifice and readiness to die which all should imitate, and in the National Socialist ideology they are elevated above the Unknown Soldier of the World War.

Besides these there are four martyrs indeed whose lives we must go into more deeply.

The first is Albert Leo Schlageter, who was shot by the French occupation authorities because he had committed acts of sabotage in the Ruhr during the occupation.

The National Socialists have erected a host of monuments and plaques to Schlageter. Films and plays glorify this hero, the children of the Hitler Youth swear 'We want to be like Leo Schlageter'. There are on view documents regarding him, namely, his depositions before one French military tribunal. These show that Schlageter had fled into the Ruhr because of large embezzlements (a matter of five million marks; this was at the time of the inflation), and there he was paid 18,000 paper marks daily to throw bombs, blow up bridges, destroy railway lines, and practise all

kinds of violence. Following his example, these methods were employed by National Socialist fanatics in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Rumania, and even by the I.R.A. in England.

In a trial in the German courts of an accomplice of Schlageter, which took place in 1923, the following evidence occurred relating to Albert Leo Schlageter: 'In consequence of this embezzlement Schlageter was compelled to accept a hazardous but well-paid post in the Ruhr, where he met his end.'

When the French military tribunal in the Ruhr arrested Schlageter as a master saboteur two statements were taken, in which Schlageter declared the following:

'My name is Schlageter (Albert Leo), son of Joseph Schlageter and Rosa Metzgen, born at Schoenau (Baden) on the 12th of August, 1894, single. . . .

'I was a student of political science. I volunteered in 1914 for the 76th Regiment of Field Artillery. I was promoted to lieutenant in 1916. Throughout the war and until 1920 I continued to serve as an officer in the army, from 1919 onwards in the 3rd Brigade of Marines.

'Later I became a member of the Loewenfeld Brigade, with which I participated in the *Kapp-Putsch*. The Loewenfeld Brigade was disbanded in 1920. In 1921 I went to Oberschlesien, where I belonged to the Heinz Brigade as Company Commander. In October, 1922, the Heinz organisation was reformed. At the end of 1922 Heinz came to me and asked me to come and support him in the Ruhr. He told me the principal aims of his organisation were acts of sabotage to trouble the Ruhr occupations and the organisation of a political spying service which would later be converted into a department for military espionage and general surveillance.

'I arrived at Elberfeld at the beginning of March, 1923. I stayed three days with Heinz at Elberfeld. Heinz sent me to Essen to make contact with members

of the organisation and to control the activities of the group. After two days I returned to Elberfeld. I had made contact with Sadowsky, who lives in Essen. Our rendezvous was generally the Café Berendorf at 11 o'clock. We numbered twenty-four members. We formed two groups: firstly, the Schlageter group, whose leader I was; secondly, the Hayn group, which was likewise named after its leader; the latter broke with our organisation and returned home to Liegnitz. I then took over the leadership of the whole organisation, whose work consisted of carrying out special commissions and acts of sabotage. My group was entrusted with sabotage on the western railway track, Düsseldorf to Duisburg. The Heinz group was to carry out sabotage in the east from Duisburg by way of Calzum and Oberhausen.

'I organised and took part in acts of sabotage. My activities consisted of surveillance of trains and railway lines, searching out opportunities for sabotage, designating points where destruction by explosives, and whenever possible, destruction of bridges, was to be carried out most easily. I reported to Heinz. Following a report, Heinz commissioned me to blow up the bridge at Sneden in Calzum. The charge, which was laid between two piles of the bridge so as to destroy at least one, did not give the expected result. We were four: König, Krause, Federer and I. König and I had placed the explosive; Krause and König had touched off the fuse.

'I gave the order not to wait for the explosion, which only happened twenty minutes later. After the fuse had taken we immediately returned to Essen.

'On the 12th of March, 1923, I gave orders to blow up the track near Stadtwald. This was executed by Krause, König, Werner, Federer, or perhaps Sadowsky. I had charged König and Krause with seeing this order carried out.

'One Boehm brought the explosive, laid it and lit the fuse; immediately afterwards Boehm went to Berlin.

'After every operation an oral report was made to

Heinz. Heinz told me that Sadowsky, on his orders, had killed a German detective. One day Heinz sent to me at Elberfeld 11,000 marks, which I was to hand on to Sadowsky.

'Every day every one of us got 18,000 marks in wages besides travelling expenses. The money comes from Berlin, from the heavy industries. . . .

'Every one of us had a revolver and a hand-grenade. The explosives came from Berlin and were forwarded by Heinz by means of a special messenger.

'The explosives found in my possession were in Essen before my arrival.

'Orders which I received from Heinz related to the surveillance of Germans who were suspected of an understanding with the French, particularly the surveillance of police officials, whose photographs I was to procure. Further, I had to keep an eye on the connections of the General Staff and their quarters, and find out whether the Staff Officers were with the troops or whether soldiers and officers were separated in private quarters, etc. . . .'

In a second deposition Schlageter made the following statement in answer to a question regarding his employer, his instructions and his motives :

'I believe, in fact I am sure, that Herr von der Osten, an official of the intelligence service of the Berlin Foreign Office, is the responsible head. But I have not made his acquaintance since, nor had any direct communication with him. My immediate chief was Heinz, who once introduced me, a few days before I came to the Ruhr, to Herr von der Osten.

'Heinz stayed in Elberfeld in various hotels. He came to Essen, as far as I know, mostly under his own name. His real name is Hauenstein (Heinz, Oskar), he is 25 to 26 years old. The active members who were under my orders and who worked with me most recently

are those already mentioned : Krause, who has papers in the name of Bolling; Becker or Bühring, whose real name I do not know; Sadowsky, who goes under his proper name and was my predecessor as chief of the group; Federer, who goes under his own name, and, I am certain, comes from Bavaria. Werner, Hayn, Hartmann, Pantke, Krohn, Maschinek, Nohabika, already mentioned, have gone home and have nothing more to do with the organisation. Others, whose names escape me, left at the time of my arrival or shortly after.

‘What I have done I did because I had great losses in my business! Once I lost five millions. Then I said to myself, “Let business go hang and find something else!”’

‘In Berlin I was often visited by Heinz, who invited me to go with him. At first I refused several times and then I said I was ready to be a group leader. I got money straight from Heinz, but I never knew where it originated. I got precise instructions for the use of the funds which were at my disposal, rewards were allowed for specific operations in event of success.

‘(Signed) ALBERT LEO SCHLAGETER.’

Schlageter atoned for his crimes with his life. He was one of those thrown out of his course by the war, who was capable of any crime and any violence, who, however, showed courage and answered for his crimes. Yet he need not have revealed his comrades and those behind him, and it is certainly peculiar that this ‘martyr’ was able to offer no word of justification to indicate that he had perpetrated his deeds out of national enthusiasm and sheer heroism. He could only offer as a motive the fact that he had fled to the Ruhr on account of business losses, though actually it was on account of prosecution following a swindling offence. One can no longer reproach him for all this when he atoned with his life. But it is incomprehensible that the

National Socialist Party had to seek out this man as a martyr: he betrayed his comrades and never once acted from national motives. But the National Socialists needed martyrs then and for them even Schlageter was good enough. On the tenth anniversary of his death Schlageter was honoured by the entire National Socialist Press as 'the first soldier who fell for the Third Reich'.

The second official martyr of the Hitler movement is better known outside Germany than Schlageter, because the official hymn of the Third Reich, which is always played with the National Anthem, is named after him. This is the former S.A. man, Horst Wessel.

Wessel came of good class, even intellectual surroundings. His father was a parson and took part as such in the Great War in the post of a chaplain in the field. This was at the time when young Horst was growing up and was supposed to be studying. His father's long absence took Horst from the straight and narrow path. He roamed the streets the whole day with companions of his own age and found pleasure in playing soldiers and associating with notorious demi-mondaines. His mother was too weak to compel him to continue the course of study provided for him. Wessel senior had even wished his son to enter upon an academic career. But he died soon after the war and Horst then was unrestrained. He had always felt drawn to the underworld and soon got a name even in these circles. This was during the period that Goebbels was setting up the first S.A. sections in Berlin. Horst Wessel joined the marching mercenaries right away, thereby to satisfy his lust for brawling, his longing for the limelight and his constant monetary demands. He made rapid headway. In the S.A. he quickly rose to *Sturmführer* by his courage, his temerity, his unscrupulousness, and his foolhardiness. At the same time, in the underworld, he became the protector of a prostitute who had to respond to his profligate tastes.

In the S.A. he boasted of his relations with the underworld and in the underworld of his functions as a *Sturmführer* of the S.A. But he had not been prudent enough in the choice of his means. He had sought out a prostitute who had endured a not less brutal man, one Ali Hoehler. Horst Wessel was hated by the Communists and Ali Hoehler alike: the Communists he knocked down and Ali Hoehler he had supplanted and caused to lose his livelihood. Finally he was laid low by the knife of his lady-friend's former 'bully'. It was a very ordinary underworld murder which made an end of Horst Wessel. Its sole connection with politics was when Ali wanted to cover it up. He declared the deed to be an act of political revenge and fled to Prague as a 'political criminal'. He was later delivered up by the Czechoslovakian Government. At the trial it came out unequivocally that the affair was not a political assassination but the result of jealousy.

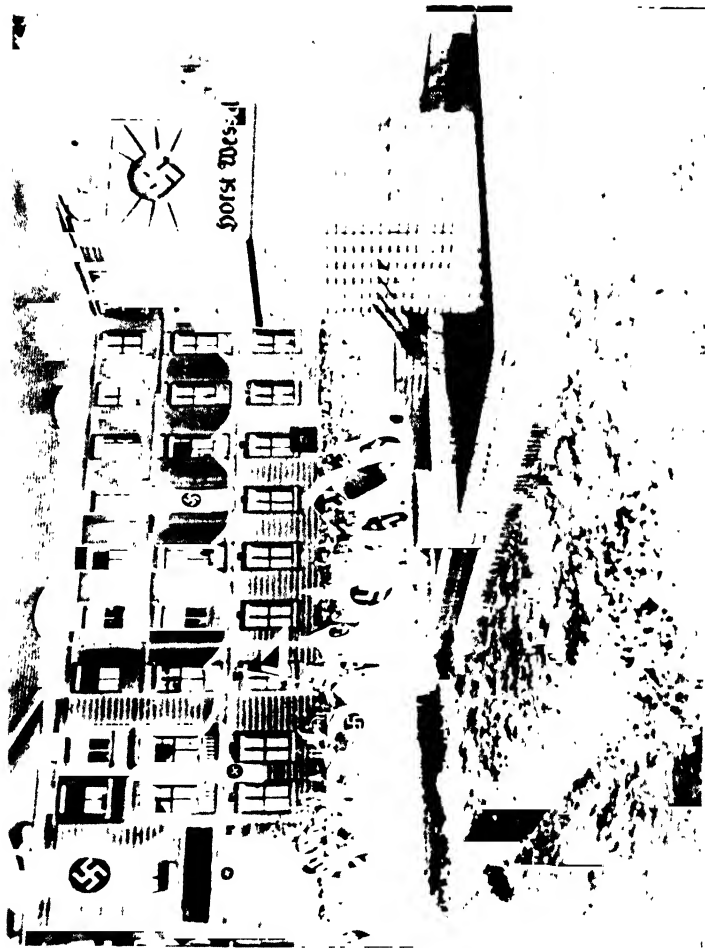
Nevertheless Goebbels seized on the opportunity of making this *Sturmbannführer* Horst Wessel into a martyr. Ali Hoehler's attempt to twist his crime into something political was only too willingly taken up by the National Socialist propaganda machine. The news was spread that Horst Wessel had been struck down in the street by his Communist enemies and had been literally mangled by numerous knife wounds. When Horst Wessel was lying on the ground severely wounded a doctor had come along and was going to bandage him up immediately. Horst Wessel, mortally wounded as he was, first asked the doctor if he were a Jew, for he would not be touched by anyone but an Aryan. When it transpired that the doctor actually was a Jew Horst Wessel refused any help from him and preferred to bleed to death rather than be saved by a Jew, and owe his life to a member of a different race. By this legend not only was this unsavoury underworld affair decked with a hero's halo but at the same time an opportunity was

offered of launching anti-Semitic invective, although the good samaritanism of a passing Jewish doctor is not a specially suitable subject for contempt.

Although the facts about the murder of Horst Wessel, namely that it was in his room, committed by a jealous bully and without any political background, have been unequivocally settled by the police and the courts of law, yet the tale invented by Goebbels has not only found credence, but also validity, first in Party circles and, after 1933, in official Germany. The song of the young 'fancy man' is ranked with the National Anthem and sung on all solemn occasions. The room where he died is adorned with his bust, Hitler's portrait and wreaths and crêpe and is a place of pilgrimage for devout National Socialists. Busts and plaques to Horst Wessel were unveiled, countless speeches are ever exhorting German youth to follow his example—and are discreetly silent regarding the fact that this hero was a prostitute's bully.

On the 25th of July, 1934, Dr. Engelbert Dollfuss, Chancellor of the Austrian Bund, was savagely slain in his room at the Bund Chancellery by Planetta and Holzweber, two National Socialist putschists. The two assassins had fired at him twice when he was completely defenceless in his office. Their shots had not been fatal right away, they had merely wounded him severely in the abdomen. Although it would probably have been possible to save Dr. Dollfuss by rapidly summoning a doctor, the revolutionaries who were besieging the Chancellery, Planetta and Holzweber chiefly, not only refused to call a doctor, but also denied Dr. Dollfuss, who was a very devout Catholic, any religious support.

Adolf Hitler, the German Reichschancellor, sent a telegram to the Austrian Government immediately after the assassination. In affecting terms he expressed his horror



ONE OF THE NUMEROUS HORST WESSEL MONUMENTS IN GERMANY

at the murder and indignantly denied that his Government had any connection with the abominable deed.

This, however, did not prevent Reichschancellor Adolf Hitler and the National Socialist Government, on the 13th of March, 1938, immediately after the annexation of Austria, from declaring that Planetta and Holzweber, the Dollfuss murderers, were to be added to the Roll of Honour as champions of National Socialism. For this deed these men had been executed by the Austrian Government after a proper public trial. They were now declared martyrs, their remains were exhumed and placed in the vault in which, until the fall of Austria, the corpse of the murdered Chancellor had lain. On the 25th of July, 1938 and 1939, not only were National Socialist ceremonies of remembrance for the two 'martyrs' held, but with flagrant bad taste the Catholic Church of Austria was even compelled to sing masses in Salzburg Cathedral for the souls of these murderers of one who championed Christianity. This height of sadism and bad taste had its consequences at the end of July, 1939: the Austrian Catholics smashed to atoms the busts of Planetta and Holzweber which had been set up in Vienna a few days before and the tablets bearing the names of streets which had been called after them were torn down and defaced.

Here we must quote the depositions which were taken by the Austrian Military Tribunal in the proceedings against the Dollfuss murderers.

The porter to Dr. Dollfuss, the murdered Chancellor, the only surviving witness of the murder, gave the following evidence:

'On hearing the shout "Hands up!" in the hall I went to look after the Chancellor. He asked me if I had a revolver, but I had none. I accompanied the Chancellor as far as the congress hall and locked the door.

Suddenly a man, Planetta, appeared on the Chancellor's left and aimed at him from about half a yard. The Chancellor raised his hands but without touching Planetta's weapon. And at this moment two shots were fired. There had not been a double discharge but two distinct shots. The Chancellor turned, fell, and cracked his head.'

Planetta himself described the scene at his trial as follows:

'Along with the others I dashed up the stairs of the Chancellery and entered a small room. There I saw a big man and a small man. The big man I believe was the Chancellor's servant. All I can say about the shooting is that my revolver went off somehow. I had set the trigger for a double discharge: that is why there were two shots. When I presently looked round I saw the small man on the floor and then first recognised him as the Chancellor. I told Herr Dollfuss to get up. Herr Dollfuss replied "I cannot".'

According to the principle that 'guilt is with the murdered, not the murderer', busts of Dollfuss were shattered by the S.A. and streets and squares which had been named after the Austrian Chancellor who had defended his country against the thrust of National Socialism were re-named after his murderers when the German troops marched into Austria. Where, however, the streets and squares were particularly fine they did not receive the names of Planetta or Holzweber but of Hitler and Goering instead.

The four men described above, namely: Schlageter, Wessel, Planetta, and Holzweber, are official martyrs of the Party.

Besides these there is a host of other semi-official ones who were either assassinated by opponents or fell by chance

in street battles. Two men died by the bullets of Jewish fanatics abroad: Wilhelm Gustloff, who was struck down by the Jewish desperado Frankfurter in Switzerland, and Herr vom Rath, mortally wounded on the 7th of November, 1938, by David Grinszpan at the German Embassy in Paris. These two assassinations by Jews are not only reprehensible because they made use of methods otherwise chiefly favoured by the National Socialists themselves, but also because the fellow-believers of the assassins, although blameless, had to pay most heavily for these bloody deeds. The two murdered men have not been classed as official martyrs, although much esteem has been worked up for the Gestapo agent and German spy, Wilhelm Gustloff. Ships and streets have been named after him, but he is not extolled as an example so much as perhaps Schlageter and Wessel.

Any party, even if it is as contemptible and low in the scale of thought as is the National Socialist Party, has its true martyrs. The nature of this particular party is shown when it does not count as martyrs those men who are such in the true sense of the word, but on the contrary shelves them and clears them out of its path. This concerns in large measure a section of those National Socialists who were slaughtered by the Führer and his minions in the middle of 1934. Captain Röhm, whose work for the Party has been described elsewhere, may have been reprehensible as a man, even like many other prominent Party members, but to the Party he was faithful and self-sacrificing. There is no doubt about his loyalty to Hitler and for the formation, growth and victory of the Party he accomplished a hundred times more than many men who are now at the head of things in Germany. But the true martyr of the Party is Gregor Strasser. In the Party he stands for that very rare type, the active idealist. He not only sacrificed his whole fortune, his position, and his honour to the Party, but

finally, under the bullets of Himmler's myrmidons, even parted with his life. Gregor Strasser was a real politician, a capable brain, an honest worker, and, in spite of many failings, an upright man to boot. For his conviction that the Party had a noble mission he was murdered, and so he is a true martyr. Yet to-day he is reviled and spat upon, one dare not mention his name; for the National Socialists he is beyond the pale, a traitor, a blot—merely because he was a true and upright martyr.

Perhaps in nothing more clearly than in its own martyrs may one recognise the true nature of this Party and its beau ideals and leaders.

THE 'WOULD-BE' APOSTLES

HITLER'S SUCCESS and the exercise of power by his Twelve Apostles have encouraged other indiscriminately brutal men in Germany and in various states to imitate Hitler's methods and so in this way likewise to become 'Führers'. All of them are in more or less close connection with National Socialism. They are either paid by Dr. Goebbels and Captain Winkler, the administrator of the Party funds, or they work independently in the hope of later being rewarded by National Socialism for their activities. It is noteworthy that almost all these men aim chiefly at playing a personal part, being well paid and obtaining more and more publicity, whereas idealism which one more or less takes for granted appears as a motive less frequently, even if at all.

Even in Germany itself there is a host of men who have striven to oust Hitler from the heights or join him there and play the Führer, and another host who have played a definitely decisive rôle in the Party, afterwards to be thrust in the background. In this connection only those men must be mentioned who belong to Hitler's immediate circle or who are among his most intimate friends. All these men who are to complete the Party picture are called here the 'would-be' Apostles. To itemize them:

Hitler's most intimate circle consisting of Amann, Hofmann and Captain Winkler.

Three representatives of the Junkers, who have subscribed for Hitler in order to play a decisive part in National Socialist Germany; they are, von Neurath, the

former Foreign Minister; von Papen, the former Reichschancellor, and General Keitel.

The would-be great of the Party who were destined to do great things for a while and then refused, as chiefly Darré, Minister of Agriculture; Dietrich, Chief of the Reich Press; Lutze, Staff Chief of the S.A.; General von Epp, Reichstatthalter, and finally Bürckel, the notorious Gauleiter of Austria.

Lastly the mass of 'substitute Hitlers' abroad: Seyss-Inquart in Austria, Henlein in Czechoslovakia, Forster in Danzig, Dr. Neumann in Memel, Major Szalaszi in Hungary, Codreanu in Rumania, and the vast number of so far unknown and unnamed, but already existent and ambitious Nazi leaders in Denmark, Belgium, England and Switzerland, in the South American States, in South Africa, in the U.S.A., and in all other countries where there are German minorities. For to-day National Socialism in all its organisations practically covers the whole world, and Goebbels need only press a button in his ministry in Berlin to set in motion clubs, newspapers and publications by the activities of the 'would-be' Apostles.

All these men have learnt their methods from the Third Reich. For the most part they have done great services for the Hitler movement, and such men are always coldly removed to where they are no more needed: for in some cases only a limited sphere was assigned to them by Hitler and Goebbels and, with their ambitions, they could have become too dangerous.

It may be of special interest to indicate the natures of the men of Hitler's immediate acquaintance. It is common knowledge that the Führer is on good social terms with Goebbels, Goering and Schirach and their families, and that these three are at times Hitler's guests at Haus Wachenfeld, at Obersalzberg. But there is practically no deeper relationship between Hitler and these men. His

immediate acquaintance is composed chiefly of his old bodyguards, Hess, Brückner and Schaub, with the addition of three personal friends, namely Amann, the publisher; Hofmann, the photographer; and Captain Winkler, the trustee of the secret funds of the Party.

Max Amann is a great personal friend of Hitler. He has been very important for the movement because almost from the outset he has directed the National Socialist publications, produced Hitler's books and thereby opened up important money resources for the Führer. The friendship between Hitler and Amann goes back to the time of the last World War. At that time Amann was a paymaster sergeant-major in Hitler's regiment. By chance Hitler met Amann again in the summer of 1919 in Munich. Hitler at once made use of the occasion to relate his plans and intentions to his former superior and Amann, surprisingly enough, proved a very attentive listener. Hitler was just then looking for a new business manager for the Party, and he offered Amann the post. Amann could not decide to give up his humble position in a branch bank without consulting his wife, but he invited Hitler home to persuade his wife himself. From that time Hitler, who made a very powerful impression on Frau Amann, was in constant touch with his former sergeant-major, who hereafter became the business manager of the Party. Amann refused to have anything to do with anyone in the Party besides Hitler, he took orders only from Hitler personally, and he has remained during the twenty years he has now worked hand in glove with Hitler a blindly devoted tool of the Führer. When the Franz Eher Verlag was founded, which published first the *Völkische Beobachter*, then Party pamphlets and Hitler's book *Mein Kampf*, as well as the books of other National Socialist partisans, Amann became director. In some way or another he could always slip Hitler money under cover of an honorarium, and Hitler appears

to have made good use of this facility. Moreover, Amann has jealously seen to it that he remains the sole master in the National Socialist publishing world. Later he not only succeeded in getting his hands on the *Berliner Kampfverlag* of the Strasser brothers, but he also compelled Goebbels to transfer the *Angriff* to the Eher Verlag. After the seizure of power Amann immediately put himself into the largest German publishers, the Ullsteinhaus, and he became chairman of the German Press Chamber, which meant that financially and as a power-politician he ruled the roost in the German press world.

It is much too little realised that Max Amann is really Hitler's constant counsellor and confidant. His very name is hardly known abroad, yet Hitler approaches him for advice on all important matters, confides in him, and he carries weight in most ticklish decisions and has a very large share in Hitler's private life. Amann looks humble, seldom appears in public; he is somewhat clumsy and awkward, but is nevertheless a business man with talent for finance and organisation, although an intriguer and jealous. He defends with great cunning his commanding influence over Hitler, fends off others, and regards it as a great concession that the Hofmann family are also allowed as confidants in the Reichschancellery and at Haus Wachenfeld.

Heinrich Hofmann, the photographer, is, like Amann, the creator of rich financial sources for Hitler, and apart from that he is also responsible for personal propaganda for Hitler's benefit. Hofmann was a clever photographer in a small way who met Hitler in the Munich years of the struggle. He was the first to represent Hitler's earlier impossible exterior in a more pleasing form. At first Hitler was 'camera shy', his self-consciousness over his unkempt and unpleasing appearance was among his other inferiority complexes. This is the reason for the lack of photographs

prior to 1923. Only when Hofmann came on the scene did Hitler discover the value to his own person of pictorial propaganda: Hofmann was not only appointed his favourite photographer but also his personal confidant. Max Amann brings Hitler gigantic sums as the proceeds of the millions of copies of *Mein Kampf*, and his income from Hofmann's photographic activities is not a whit less. For Hitler has his share and a very considerable one in every picture postcard of himself, all the political photographs in which he figures, all the portraits which must hang in all the official offices, and in Hofmann's books of photos which have to do with Hitler's life and his establishments.

The third man in the league is hardly known in Germany, only the innermost circle of the Party leadership knows the part that Captain Winkler plays in Hitler's acquaintance, in the construction of the Party apparatus, in the Party itself and in the foreign organisation. He is the administrator of the Party funds, he hands out fabulous sums for propaganda for the Führer, but he also has his fingers on the arteries of the entire movement. By the withdrawal of subsidies he can, at any moment, leave inconvenient Party men suspended in mid-career. He has the financial control in closest touch with Hitler, and in many matters exercises as much influence on the Party development as does Himmler with his secret records and his surveillance. Every one of these three intimates has in his way a special function in propaganda, they thus become mute but none the less effective disciples of Hitler's reputation. Over and above this they have the advantage that they are confidants and what they do is, therefore, only what Hitler desires.

Of quite a different calibre are the three individuals from the earlier civil government, and the Junkers, who have continued in the National Socialist régime. They take

pains, indeed, to manifest their devotion to this régime and Hitler's name, but inwardly they look down with complete contempt on Hitler and his circle. Out of personal ambition and a regard for the future they have the necessary opportunism to feign a conviction which in actuality they lack.

Each in his line clings to office. One has the impression that Hitler repeatedly seeks to place Herr von Neurath and Herr von Papen at lost posts, and that these two opportunists produce their best for the benefit of National Socialism, only remaining in power for a given moment and only sitting in important positions when the thrust is turned against National Socialism.

Herr von Neurath comes of a branch of the old Wurtemberg nobility. He started his diplomatic career in 1901, when 28 years old; from 1903 to 1908 he was vice-consul, and from 1930 to 1932 Ambassador in London. On the 2nd of June, 1932, he joined Papen's Government as Foreign Minister where even after Hitler's appointment as Reichschancellor he remained until the 4th of February, 1938.

Neurath is a professional diplomat of good German education, a Junker through and through, a member of the former famous Herrenklub, and a friend of Papen. He is nowise an anti-Semite or a race-theorist, and therefore was rather an oddity in the otherwise strongly National Socialist Government. At first Hitler had not sufficient competent diplomats to fill the highest posts of the diplomatic service with his comrades, and he let Neurath remain although personally he deeply distrusted the Freiherr. Neurath is one of those diplomats whose personal advancement is more to them than the service they perform for the Fatherland. Here Neurath went off the rails badly. In 1916 Neurath was Botschaftsrat under the well-known German diplomat Wolff Metternich. As Neurath did not

much care for his superior and was also endeavouring to get to Constantinople as Chargé d'affaires, he composed a secret report to the Berlin Foreign Office based on confidential documents only accessible to him. In this he complained of his superior, Wolff Metternich, in most indelicate terms, and sought to undermine the ambassador's position. At that time the Berlin Foreign Office had a loftier conception of honour and, moreover, knew Wolff Metternich's affairs in detail. As an answer to his accusations, Neurath received a laconic telegram: 'Does the Botschaftsrat want leave?'; and before he could compose his reply that he was not due for leave, a second wire arrived: 'Leave granted'. For two years Neurath had to give up the diplomatic service, and went to Wurtemberg as chief of the King's Civil Cabinet. After the German collapse he was taken from his niche and appointed ambassador in Copenhagen.

Later his personal ambition caused him to rise to be Reich Foreign Minister. For this, however, he has chiefly to thank his friend Papen. From the beginning Hitler tried to circumscribe Neurath's sphere more closely wherever the opportunity offered itself. The Press department of the Foreign Office went to Goebbels, special reports on countries and continents were suspended. Hitler himself took over the greater part of the Reichschancellorship, the department for Auslandsdeutsche was placed under Bohle. Neurath's position was, therefore, completely undermined before he was thrown over in February, 1938. For a year he remained a member of the inner cabinet, but this only in name as he was practically functionless, and finally in the autumn of 1939 he was placed at the head of Bohemia. This is a completely lost post which obviously came to Neurath because someone would like to see him placed in an impossible position by errors and ill-successes and then dismiss him.

One of the most interesting and striking figures in Germany is Franz von Papen, the former spy and secret agent, later Reichschancellor, who is now Ambassador with Special Mission. A life of adventure without parallel passes before us as this man's story unfolds. Papen comes from a landed family from the East of the Elbe, he is a blue-blooded Junker with all the merits and demerits attaching to that class, and a time-server, opportunist and 'limpet'. His chief characteristic is a special kind of slyness and subtlety which partly borders on the artistry of the diplomat and partly on the lowest instincts of the professional spy. Papen is a mixture of all this. His beginnings take us to the U.S.A. in the first years of the last World War. Already, in dealing with the seventh Apostle, Joachim von Ribbentrop, something has been said of Papen's activities. He was military attaché at the Embassy at Washington, and as such at the same time Chief of the German spying activities in America, the leader of sabotage there, who was to do as much damage as he could. When as military attaché Papen was forced to recognise that the exertions to involve America in the war on the side of the Central Powers were fruitless he confined his activities to destruction by explosives and 'industrial accidents'. Others who later became more famous were there besides himself (mention must be made, apart from Ribbentrop, of Trebitsch Lincoln, the famous adventurer, later a Buddhist monk, who was also an English Member of Parliament, and of Herr von Rintelen, who later made some very interesting revelations about this period of sabotage). At the beginning of 1915, when he was recalled at the urgent request of the American Government, misfortune overtook him on the way back to Germany. His trunk was broken open and a complete list was discovered of all the payments which he had personally made to saboteurs, spies and other agents in America.

In 1916 von Papen, already a captain, was busy on similar activities in Palestine and Syria. His pet idea at that time was to launch a German attack on the Suez Canal and thus interrupt the lines of communication between England and India. When the troops of the Entente made a surprise entry into Damascus, Papen was obliged to escape in his pyjamas in the early morning. He was not able to salvage his clothes, much less his papers, and all his secret documents once more fell into the hands of the enemy. From them it was only too clear what a web of spying and sabotage he had spun over Asia Minor, and among them were unequivocal documents relating to the Irish Revolutionary Party and their leader, Sir Roger Casement. The substantiations afforded by Papen's archives sufficed to turn the trial against the Irish saboteurs, and Sir Roger Casement paid for Papen's carelessness with his death.

Papen then returned to Germany. For fifteen years he led a comfortable and enjoyable life as an estate owner, Junker, huntsman and member of the Herrenklub. But he hardly appeared in politics. By marrying money he made contact with the Rhenish industrialists, still weaving his intrigues behind the scenes, but remained aloof from party commitments.

In the middle of 1932, when the ambitious General Schleicher and his ally Captain Röhm wanted to overthrow Dr. Brüning, the Zentrum Chancellor, the idea occurred to them of dragging in Herr von Papen as an obliging tool, as an opportunist whose connection with the Zentrum was flimsy. Hindenburg, who, as an East Elbe man, knew the Papen family well, immediately agreed to this candidate and appointed Papen Reichschancellor. By now Hitler and his Party were already a considerable force in the Reich, and the National Socialists at once endeavoured, via Ribbentrop, to entice this man over to them. But Papen, with his unreliable and chameleon-like nature, re-

fused to co-operate with the National Socialists, and he even caused Hindenburg to ignore Hitler's repeated endeavours to obtain appointment to a ministry.

Conflict broke out between Schleicher and von Papen. In the course of it von Papen was defeated and Reichswehr General Schleicher made himself Chancellor. Von Papen in anger turned his back on Schleicher and the Reichswehr, and sought Hitler's support: there he scented more prospects for the future.

At the turn of year (1932-1933), as has been repeatedly described, things looked very black for the National Socialist Party, and the first indications of its decline were clearly recognisable. At this point von Papen made his decision, because he was of the opinion that, with the help of the declining National Socialist Party, he could easily make himself the sole ruler of Germany.

The historic meeting between Hitler and von Papen, which took place near Cologne on the 4th of January, 1933, and which in the upshot was to raise Hitler to sole power in Germany, was described thus in the memoirs of Dr. Otto Dietrich, the Chief of the Reich Press: 'Very early morning (4th January, 1933) we all get out at Bonn. Schreck is there at the station with the Führer's car to drive us to Godesberg with the dawn. Short interval for breakfast. A closed car drives up. The Führer gets in. He drives off. Destination unknown to us. . . . Two hours later—no one knows if there was a stop, no one knows the meaning of this separation—the closed car drives up from Bonn. It stops. The Führer gets out and comes into his car. The closed car turns and vanishes in the direction of Cologne.

'On continuing to Düsseldorf the Führer dropped hints that he had had an interview with a political notability. I somehow traced that he was extraordinarily content with the outcome of his secret excursion.'

In that closed car sat Franz von Papen. He had struck

a bargain with Hitler. He would prevail upon Hindenburg to appoint Hitler Reichschancellor if Hitler would remain content with being merely the formal ruler while in fact von Papen himself as Vice-Chancellor, and Hugenberg as Minister of Economics, were carrying out the rearrangement of things in Germany.

As usual Hitler had promised everything and granted everything, and at the same time decided to keep no word of his promise. Von Papen, the sly fox, the unprincipled adventurer, had hit upon a fox even more sly, a still more unscrupulous opponent. On the 30th of January, 1933, Hitler's cabinet came into being exactly as had been promised in that memorable conversation in the car on the open road on the 4th of January, 1933. Only there was a slight difference. Hitler had not thought for a moment of keeping his word. He pinned von Papen and Hugenberg flat against the wall, and from the moment of taking over power saw only one aim before him: to make National Socialism omnipotent and all other parties impotent.

From the moment that von Papen was Vice-chancellor under Hitler he hardly trusted himself to speak, still less to make any moves which would have prevented Hitler's advance. Once only von Papen, who was still loyal to Hindenburg, dared to make a speech in the Marburg University, on the 17th of June, 1934, before the professors and students there, in which his complete disappointment and discontent with Hitler's proceedings came out. He started with Germany's economic distress, condemned the diversion of national discontent on to the helpless elements, namely, the defenceless Jews, and lashed the increasing violence and injustice. Finally von Papen even ventured to declare that the cult of Hitler was un-Prussian and that in Germany there was no inclination to Byzantinism, which could only delude one over the great defects and deficiencies of the system. Great men would not be made by

propaganda. After von Papen had in this way summarily dealt with Hitler and Goebbels he continued with an even sharper attack on Goering when he declared: 'Whoever mentions Prussianism thinks immediately of quiet and quite impersonal service, and only in the last event, or at best not at all, of reward and recognition'.

This speech gave rise to unrestrained fury among the National Socialists, especially Goering, who then was still the chief of the Gestapo. A few days after the speech, that is before the 30th of June, 1934, men of the Gestapo appeared at the house of Dr. Edgar Jung, a friend of von Papen, who had prepared the speech, in order to arrest him. Dr. Jung was never seen alive again. Another friend of von Papen, Erich Klausener, a ministerial director and a leader of the Catholic Movement, was called for at his office in the Ministry of Transport at midday on the 30th of June, 1934, by two of Goering's underlings. They told him he was arrested, and when he stood up to take his hat from the peg he received from behind two revolver shots in the head. He collapsed, severely wounded, was left lying there and bled to death, and all this because he was von Papen's friend and had been of assistance to him in preparing his speech.

Von Papen himself was likewise supposed to be arrested and disposed of in his office on the 30th of June. He got wind of the move, and a few minutes before his visitors arrived he fled into the Reichswehr ministry and there put himself under the protection of his friends the Generals. In this way he escaped shooting but vanished from Hitler's Government on the self-same day.

Hitler, however, did not share Goering's hatred of Papen, and recognised, moreover, that this man could be of use to him. But von Papen had to leave Berlin. On the 26th of July, 1934, after the fact was revealed that the German envoy in Vienna, Herr von Rieth, had committed

himself by supporting the Nazi putschists in the Austrian Chancellor's office, von Papen was appointed German Ambassador there.

Von Papen, the opportunist, who a few days previously had been threatened with death by the National Socialist Party, once more proved his adaptability. He completely reconstructed the shattered organisation in Austria; only he made the mistake at the end of January, 1938, of informing the Viennese State Police that a plot had been hatched against him by the illegal National Socialist Movement. Herr von Ketteler, von Papen's private secretary in Vienna, notified the Viennese Police that a *putsch* plan was afoot, whereby the illegal National Socialists were to break into the Embassy disguised as Austrian Heimwehr. The plan was that von Papen was to be murdered and the Embassy burnt. This 'encroachment of the Austrian Heimwehr' was to afford a pretext for the German Government to make an armed incursion into Austria as a castigatory measure and annex the country. There was, actually, such a plan, but von Papen, on account of Ketteler's reports, was once more threatened with Berlin's displeasure. He was called to Hitler and was only able to save himself by promising the Führer that he would make Germany a present of Austria in a more convenient way. Von Papen returned to Vienna, and on the 12th of February persuaded Schuschnigg to journey to Berchtesgaden and there to conclude a new pact with Hitler. Schuschnigg fell into the trap. The 12th of February was the starting-point for the occupation of Austria a month later.

A few days later Herr von Ketteler, von Papen's secretary, was found shot in the Wienerwald.

Although von Papen had done sterling work in Austria and slipped the country into the hands of the National Socialists, he was lost to official circles for a year. Not until the Spring of 1939 was he suddenly appointed Ambassa-

dor in Turkey. From there, together with General von Brauchitsch, he worked at the preparation of the non-aggression pact between Germany and Russia, and when the Treaty was signed in August, 1939, von Papen was officially named with Ribbentrop as one of the chief initiators of it.

It is, therefore, seen that Herr Junker Franz von Papen has accomplished valuable work for the National Socialists. If he had not been suspected on account of his origin and dangerous on account of his cunning he would have assumed quite a different position in the National Socialist hierarchy than that of an Ambassador on Special Missions.

Yet a third representative of the Junkers must be mentioned in this connection, namely General von Keitel, chief of the German General Staff. This man is, with General von Brauchitsch, the most influential person in the German Army to-day. Unlike Brauchitsch, he is actually a convinced National Socialist. When in 1933 General von Blomberg was called to the head of the German army by Hitler, he brought with him General Keitel as a specially loyal follower. It was thus obvious that Keitel in his sympathies was openly in favour of Hitler and National Socialism. General Keitel was born in 1882. When he was only 19 he joined the German army as a volunteer, served throughout the War as an artillery Captain, and after the collapse, being a capable officer, he was taken over by the Reichswehr. Like Moltke, the famous General in the War of 1870, Keitel passes as '*der grosse Schweiger*' (taciturnity itself). Keitel's military, political and economic education is good, he is particularly well-up in the theory of war, but is disinclined to express himself in words. He gives his orders either in writing, by dumb show or, in extreme case of need, with laconic phrases. He is a morose and reserved individual, his opinions are those of the extreme Right, he

is a nationalist through and through, the descendant of an old family of officers. Since the outbreak of War he has not only functioned as chief of the General Staff in Germany, but by his appointment to the Inner War Cabinet he is also, as it were, the German Minister for the Co-ordination of the Defence. His strength lies in the fact that he is the chief upholder of mechanisation for the army. The great success of the German forces in Poland right at the start of the War is chiefly to be traced back to the fact that Keitel not only carried motorisation to extremes but was also the inventor of the so-called *schnellen Truppen* (speed troops) who, although heavily armed, were in a position to traverse in an inconceivably short time the vast stretches of the Polish State.

Quite a different group of men is represented by other followers of Hitler. These had hoped to wield some decisive power in Germany and either have been frustrated with their plans or have been stopped in mid-career. One of the most typical representatives of this group is Walter Darré, Hitler's Minister of Agriculture. Like Hess and Rosenberg, Darré is an *Auslandsdeutscher*. He was born in Buenos Aires on the 14th of July, 1895, his father was chief of a large trading house there. After the War, in which he took part as *Reserveoffizier*, Darré became a colonial farmer. In 1927 he joined the National Socialist Party, and as this Party had, until then, not concerned itself at all with the problems of the agricultural classes, it received Darré with open arms. He founded a weekly paper entitled *National Sozialistische Landpost*, in which he promised the German farmers a Heaven on Earth: elimination of the wholesaler, doubled prices for agricultural products, reduction in manufacturers' prices for the benefit of farmers, reduced taxes, lowering of mortgage interest, liquidation of debts with the State's assistance, and similar

things. The condition for all these promises to the farmers, which would assuredly be impossible to fulfil, was merely to be that they made Germany independent of imports, in the way of food supplies. An autarky in fact.

Darré has deemed it necessary to publish some books which are supposed to unite his ideas as an agriculturalist with his national opinions. In all the non-National Socialist circles in Germany these books have aroused sheer homeric laughter. Abroad they have never been read at all. Here are the titles of them: 'The Pig as Criterion of Nordic and Semite', 'The Farming Community is the Life-source of the Nordic', and 'A New Nobility from Blood and Soil'.

From this last work arises the celebrated slogan of 'Blubo', the entirely distorted conception of a mingling of blood and soil, which was supposed to afford a special life-source in nourishing the German people and also the basis for a superior race.

It is superfluous to remark that Walter Darré when, following the seizure of power, he became Minister of Agriculture, did not think for a moment of keeping his promises to the German farmers; on the contrary. The price of agricultural products had to be reduced and taxes were increased by the National Socialist Government 'in the National interest'; the only thing in his previous programme which Darré endeavoured to carry out was enormous pressure on the farmers for an increase of production. He succeeded to a certain degree, as did Dr. Ley with the working classes, by compulsory organisations and the dispatching of loyal National Socialists to the country areas to create a kind of agrarian front in favour of National Socialism. But in Germany to-day the farmers are among the most discontented elements and accept the pressure of the National Socialist Government with very bad grace.

Darré has also had another success. By means of prizes

and compulsion the stock of pigs in Germany has increased considerably in the last few years. The reason for this is that the farmers, to their great disgust, have only been allowed to slaughter pigs on very rare occasions, because in this way Darré hoped to set up a kind of reserve of food against the possibility of war. Although, therefore, in his propaganda he announces with great emphasis the phenomenal increase in the stock of pigs in Germany, yet the German population for some years have only been able to purchase, in very insufficient quantities, pork for home consumption. Darré is still in his post. But by his failure to comply with one of the most important demands of military economy, namely the attainment by Germany of autonomy where foodstuffs are concerned, he has obtained so few marks of favour from Hitler that he only continues in office because among the National Socialists no better or more loyal substitute is to be found.

A man, who, like Amann or Hofmann, likewise belongs to Hitler's most intimate circle, is Dr. Otto Dietrich, the chief of the Reich press. He is one of the few scholars of the Party, but even so he is as brutal and indiscriminate in his actions and orders as the 'militiamen' themselves. His talent is but ordinary and offers little interest, yet, for all that, as a special confidant of Hitler, very often even as his travelling companion, he can frequently inform the Press of Hitler's personal wishes and in this way sometimes poaches on Goebbels' preserves. For a while, in spite of his academic education, he belonged to Hitler's immediate body-guard, and won his spurs less by journalistic feats than by his activities in *Saalschlachten*.

Viktor Lutze, the Chief of Staff of the S.A., is, on the other hand, a proper mercenary. One of his biographers

says of him: 'This man does not know the meaning of the word compromise.' There is Lutze in a nutshell. Beginning in 1922 he has literally battered his way from a common S.A. man to the leadership of the organisation. How much barbarity, brutal energy, unintelligence and lack of compromise is implied in the assumption of merely a leading position in the S.A., need not be stressed after descriptions which have appeared in this book. Consider then what a rough passage it must have been to have reached its summit! Lutze was born on the 28th of December, 1898, in Westphalia. He was intended for a Post Office official, but preferred to join the army, as soldiering suited his capabilities much better. Lutze served throughout the War and was destined to continue his career as an active officer. But in 1919 he lost an eye in a very disreputable brawl; this put an abrupt end to his military career. Lutze, however, with his true brawler's nature, did not wish to say goodbye to a soldier's life, and very soon after his recovery he enlisted in a volunteer corps which was troubling Germany at that time. As early as 1922 he came across the N.S.D.A.P. and joined the S.A. He became one of Hitler's personal body-guards and one of the most feared and brutal of the *Saalkämpfer* in the Führer's circle. Although he only had one eye this did not prevent his rapid promotion in the S.A., he became *Gausturmführer*, and in 1930 O.S.A.F. (*Oberster Sturmabteilungs-Führer*). Although he has none of the genius, farseeingness, political courage and extraordinary talent of a Röhm, yet on the 30th of June, 1934, when Röhm was murdered, he became the leader and Staff Chief of the S.A. in his place. Lutze in default of other capabilities is uncompromising, unquestionably devoted to Hitler, and boundlessly brutal, this last making it possible for him to manage the sometimes very refractory S.A. These characteristics of his helped him to succeed in a relatively short time in purg-

ing the S.A. of Röhm's supporters and reorganising the troop according to Hitler's ideas.

Lutze would probably have been called upon to play a more important part if the great majority of the S.A. men had not been enrolled in the German Reichswehr in 1936. In this way not only did the S.A. lose their importance for the National Socialist Movement but also the influence of their Staff Chief fell rapidly. In the last few years the part which Lutze has been playing is more that of a functionary than a power factor.

Likewise a mercenary, but in spite of that a figure cast in a somewhat greater mould, is the Bavarian General Franz Ritter von Epp. He is the oldest among the active leaders of National Socialism for he is already over the 70 year mark: he was born in 1868. In 1900 he took part, as a soldier, in the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion in China; and afterwards was prominent in the vicious stamping-out of the Herero rising in German East Africa. In the last World War he was Battalion Commander of the Bavarian Lifeguards, and in April, 1918, as a General, he received for the defence of Kemelberg the *Pour le Mérite* order. After the collapse he became, as General, leader of the Bavarian Reichswehr, and from the beginning, in company with Captain Röhm, he had an important hand in the construction of the Hitler Party. He is a double dealer and, as it suited him, was now on the side of Hitler and now against him. Among other things it was General Epp who caused the Hitler *putsch* in November, 1923, to be fired upon by his Reichswehr. But soon afterwards Epp was again endeavouring to join Hitler. For the German National Party (*Volkspartei*), which he had joined 'because it had at its disposal the most deputy mandates', did not put him on its list of deputies, and he believed that he could get easier advancement with the National Socialists.

But Hitler likewise did not wish to send him to the Reichstag but only to make use of him for his military connections, and he gradually had Epp promoted to Chief of the 'Defence Office'. When Hitler had become master of the entire German forces and Bavaria had to give up its independence, General von Epp was appointed Hitler's representative in Bavaria and was allowed to keep this post even after the outbreak of war.

Josef Bürckel, the present Gauleiter of Austria, is a very individual figure. He is a man who, by way of exception, has not come from the S.A. but from the prison of the National Socialist Party. He is most certainly gifted, cunning, capable and unscrupulous, and has inborn criminal instincts. In his native land and in the Rhineland he had committed a host of crimes, chiefly embezzlement and fraud, for which he had been duly punished. He subsequently joined the National Socialist Party, and there, thanks to his special capabilities, made rapid headway. It was he who was commissioned by Hitler to prepare the ground for the N.S.D.A.P. in the plebiscite in the Saar. In spite of the presence of French troops in the Saar he employed such terrorising methods, and was able to intimidate the population so deeply that the favourable result of the polling for Germany is to be ascribed in large degree to his activities. When, at the beginning of February, 1938, von Papen had fallen into disfavour and was to be recalled from Vienna, Josef Bürckel was at once appointed to the Embassy there as his successor. It was later said that Bürckel had been commissioned by Hitler to prepare the eventual plebiscite in Austria regarding the Anschluss. This intention of Hitler's was, however, prevented by Dr. Schuschnigg's last great move. He announced that a plebiscite would be held on the 13th of March under the control of the Austrian Government. Hitler could not risk this,

for it would have turned out that the majority of the Austrian population were for Schuschnigg and against Hitler. For this reason his ultimatum was sent to Austria with a time limit, and in spite of the countermanding of the plebiscite the order was given for the entry of the German troops into Austria on the night of the 11th to 12th of March.

Immediately after the occupation of Austria, Josef Bürckel was moved to a post for which he had striven: he was appointed Reichscommissar for Austria. In himself he is a very uninteresting person, not really worth mentioning, but he was responsible for introducing via Austria those aggravated methods of National Socialism which finally helped to close the ranks of the whole world in hatred against Germany. During the first five years of the National Socialist régime no measures were taken against citizens even approximating to that legally recognised brutality which was used from the first moment under Bürckel in Austria. Persecution of the Jews, arrest of monarchists, unscrupulous interference in the Church and the Catholic circle were inaugurated by Bürckel in Austria, and from there gradually spread over the Reich. Property was confiscated and all citizens who did not belong to the National Socialist Party were entirely deprived of legal status, and these measures likewise originated in Bürckel's decrees and orders. He is the man who not only promised himself Hitler's special appreciation and a better post because of his extremism, but who has also influenced in the highest degree the establishment of such methods in the Reich.

From Bürckel one naturally passes to the Statthalter of Hitler who have worked for the National Socialist Party outside Germany. The gentlest representative of these is still the Austrian Dr. Seyss-Inquart, who was a prime mover in slipping his homeland into the hands of Hitler. Well: Dr. Richard Seyss-Inquart was a distinguished solicitor in

Austria, he passed as a respectable and reliable man; he was, moreover, during the War, the regimental comrade of the Chancellor, Dr. Schuschnigg, and enjoyed his special confidence. The author of this book knows from personal experience that at first Seyss-Inquart was merely disposed to assist National Socialism to victory in Austria, but that, as a true Austrian patriot, he was only thinking to preserve an Austria independent of Germany by means of a mixed National Socialist and Catholic Government. By his activities he most certainly contributed to a considerable degree in enabling Hitler to carry out his invasion, but finally he was only a deceived deceiver. The moment Hitler recognised that he could annex Austria without any opposition on the part of the Western Powers, Seyss-Inquart was thrust aside and paid off with an entirely minor position, and Austria was incorporated in the German Reich as a subject province. Seyss-Inquart did not even remain the leader of this province, he was made subordinate to Bürckel and thereby became an entirely meaningless figure. But he had certainly dreamed that he would become the Lord of Austria, and his betrayal of the Austrian people is only to be explained by this ambition.

In the final result Conrad Henlein, leader of the Sudeten Germans, fared no better, and after the destruction of the Czechoslovakian Republic, which happened through his treachery, he became merely a subordinate official of the Party apparatus and Freiherr von Neurath was appointed over him as his lord and master. Conrad Henlein was at first a minor official working in Asch, his home town, where he was born in 1898. He first aroused Hitler's attention in 1926, when he reorganised the German Gymnastic Club in Asch on National Socialist principles. Starting from the gymnastic organisations he built up the Sudeten German Home Front, which he gradually encouraged in treason

against the Republic. Henlein, like his accomplice Forster in Danzig, had, as a true henchman of Hitler, repeatedly furnished declarations of loyalty towards the State in which he was allowed to work. Henlein indignantly denied all charges that he was working under National Socialist orders or was receiving money from Berlin. When he had long decided to drive the Sudeten Germans to open rebellion, and had in fact received orders from Hitler to that effect, he still gave declarations of loyalty in Prague and abroad in order that his activities against his own State might be the less disturbed in their evolution. Henlein is nothing more than a common traitor who has deliberately taken upon himself every kind of falsehood to force one of the best organised democratic States under the yoke of Hitler dictatorship. When his plot succeeded he received, it is true, a well-paid post in the Sudetenland, but at the same time he vanished from before the political footlights, just as, six months earlier, Dr. Seyss-Inquart had vanished. Henlein did not become Reichsprotektor of Bohemia and Moravia; Baron Neurath received this post. Under Germany Conrad Henlein, Hitler's trusted follower, has had as little place as the traitors of Austria, who sacrificed to the specious promises of Hitler the freedom of their country, and culture and democracy.

Gauleiter Albert Forster, the Danzig Hitler and 'pocket Führer', missed greatness even as Seyss-Inquart and Henlein. As it happens he was born in prison, this was at Fürth, in Bavaria, in 1902, when his father was the prison Governor. But his later life would have taken him to prison with more justice if he had not, with some wisdom, become the member of a Party which not only tolerates crimes and criminals but even breeds them. Albert Forster was first a minor official in a third class provincial bank at Fürth, the sister-city to Nuremberg. When the bank collapsed, Julius Strei-

cher, the Nuremberg Gauleiter, took young Forster under his wing. He not only made him Gauleiter of Fürth, but also a badly-paid journalist on the *Stürmer*. To keep Forster in a good humour cash from the Party fund was employed to set him up, he was smuggled into several organisations, introduced to Hitler, and supported with all expedients illicit or otherwise.

In many National Socialist circles it is declared that Forster is a distant relation of Hitler and that Streicher took especially to the young man chiefly in order to be of service to Hitler. The fact of the matter is, however, that Forster was sent to Danzig as Gauleiter in 1930 by Hitler himself. There, by his particularly brutal methods, he not only cleared his opponents out of the way with violence and his truncheon, but also by similar methods amassed quite a considerable private fortune. After five years this one-time down-at-heel bank official was able to build a large private house for himself in the most beautiful part of the environs of Danzig and to draw on large banking accounts. Forster elbowed out of his way in an unscrupulous manner the old-established Senators of Danzig, who were likewise National Socialist and he, the 'foreigner' from South Bavaria, also made himself the sole ruler of the Free City. Finally, on the 1st of September, 1939, disregarding all treaties, he proclaimed the union of Danzig with the German Reich; simultaneously a New World War began. Violence, extortion, deceit are the milestones in this man's road, he saw the way mapped out for him in Hitler's shining example, the way by which a mental cipher may become an affluent and much respected personality.

We have not space enough here to describe all the other 'minor Hitlers' such as Dr. Neumann in Memel, Major Szalaszi in Hungary, Codreanu in Rumania, Rudolf Wiesner in Poland, Harry Schaeffer in Rio de Janeiro, Emir

Chekib Arslan in Arabia, Ibañez in Chile, and numerous similar men in other States. They all have the same traits and the same faces. They imitate and copy the Chancellor of the Third Reich and hope to become Führers themselves.

To attain this position one needs no particular capabilities, schooling or education, one need only possess a fair amount of unscrupulousness and presumption not only to break into the charmed circle itself, but also to enjoy the special confidence and the plentiful financial resources of the lords of National Socialism.

It is to be hoped that, in company with Hitler's régime in Germany, against which the War is alone waged, these unpleasant associates will be swept away before they succeed in becoming a danger to their fellow countrymen and neighbours as did Hitler and his Twelve Apostles.

TWELVE FACES AND A WORLD PHILOSOPHY

THE FACES AND FORMS that have passed before us in these pages represent more than individuals. They stand for a system. They mirror a world philosophy which rests not on law and justice, not on culture and service, not on the selection of the best and the rewarding of the worthiest,

but on force and lawlessness,
on crime and hostility to culture,
on the extermination of freedom and all goodness,
on the unchaining of the lowest instincts.

This book merely deals with men, with violent, barbarous, unscrupulous men, enemies of culture. In Hitler's Third Reich there is no place for women, or rather their place is merely to bear as many children as possible and so to swell the armies of the Reich. Women would be much too gentle, much too compassionate ever to play an influential part in this State of artificially-bred bullies.

Neither is there any place in the Third Reich for culture and intellect. The numerous representatives of these two manifestations of civilisation have either been slain, taken prisoner, or hounded out of Germany. The nation of 'Poets and Thinkers' as the German people was, to its credit, previously called, has to-day been transformed into a 'lordly race' of hangmen and executioners.

It would be wicked enough if the brutality of these men savaged merely their own weaker comrades. It would be wicked enough if the enslavement concerned the German nation alone. But the nature of this system is such that while yet the weak remain, who for these 'lordly beings'

represent an easy and inexpensive prey, there will be no sating it nor will its ambition be gratified. If it was at first only the weak and unorganised in Germany who were oppressed—the Jews, the devout Catholics and the peaceable—only too soon the claws of this bullying monster, with its will to oppression, stretched out over the frontiers. Under the threat of annihilation by a pitiless bombardment from the air Austria was made German territory: there followed the Sudetenland, Bohemia, Moravia, and Memel. And when Poland, which was after all the greatest and mightiest of the little States around Germany, was unwilling to comply as readily as the others with the forceful desires of Germany then it became obvious that the threats of bombs and violence were no empty words but a bitter reality. The example of Poland proves that against the enormously enhanced might of the German army no country in Central Europe can offer opposition worthy of the name. Only the combined might of Great Britain and France, and perhaps of the United States of America, is capable of holding in check this system of crude violence which rages in the heart of Europe.

In reality Germany began the war not in September, 1939, but at the moment Hitler considered his army strong enough to challenge the lesser armed States. This point was reached on the 4th of February, 1938. The reins of the Party, the Government, the Army and Diplomacy were now in the grasp of one pair of hands. On that day began Germany's 'Napoleonic period'. On that day the 'white war' commenced: a war on the nerves, which was to force the enemy to pull the trigger and so exculpate the real aggressor. Before the bar of history Hitler wished to stand, hypocritically enough, as 'the friend of peace'.

All those expedients deemed estimable by the system had precluded the main affray: falsehood and broken words of honour, disintegratory propaganda, bribery, constant

disturbance, economic undermining, the tearing up of all existing treaties.

There was, and is, only one means which is effective against this system : its own weapons.

Two books by the author of this work have already been published, and these he concludes with the following statements :

‘ Austria is the first victim of Germany’s will to expand. Her sacrifice, heavy and ruinous as it has proved to be for a great part of her people, may yet have served to open the eyes of the world. Immediately after the occupation of Vienna the plans of the Greater German Reich in the Danubian Basin have emerged clearly and unmistakably in their gigantic outline, and the manner in which the union of Austria with the Reich has been brought about has helped to demonstrate to the democratic States to what goal leniency and tolerance of Germany’s ambitions must ultimately lead.’ (*Thus died Austria*, p. 270; published by Edward Arnold and Co. in summer 1938.)

‘ What then are the ways and means which can be employed by the democratic States . . . ? Unfortunately there is at the present time no other means but the one employed so successfully by the dictator States themselves; the threat of brute force.’ (*Germany’s next Aims*, p. 270; published by Edward Arnold and Co. in March 1939.)

This claim was advanced long before the outbreak of war, and has unfortunately proved to be only too well justified; and the war, which the two great Democracies have taken upon themselves in the Autumn of 1939, is merely the logical consequence of the same realisation. It was not the question of Danzig’s destiny, nor the individual fate of the minor States of Europe that led to war, but a deep realisation that the advance of National Socialism and the iron fist over the whole world could only be brought to a standstill by opposing violence with equal violence.

By force of arms Hitlerism has come to power, and by force of arms it must be exterminated if the world is once more to breathe freely.

When, in ancient times, the European world of those days was threatened by Hannibal's imperialism, Cato coined the famous watchword, *Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam*. He drummed this cry into the ears of his fellow-countrymen until they listened and Rome gathered her forces for a decisive blow.

It would sully the memory of Hannibal and Carthage to class them with Hitler and the Third Reich. But the cry which Cato uttered must still ring in the ears of every one of us who is concerned to preserve himself and his freedom against the brutal oppression and the lawlessness of a degenerate system.

Ceterum Censeo Carthaginem Esse Delendam!

Only it is not Germany and the German people that must be obliterated, but Hitler and National Socialism.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

7th March, 1918. Anton Drexler, the tool-maker, founds 'a free Workers' Committee for a good peace'.

5th January, 1919. Anton Drexler forms the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (German Workers' Party) from the Workers' Committee.

Beginning of 1919. Corporal Adolf Hitler arrives in Munich, occupies himself with popular speaking. Captain Ernst Röhm invites him to give lectures to the Reichswehr soldiers.

Early autumn of 1919. Hitler is sent to the *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* as an 'observer' for the Reichswehr. He is at once elected to the executive and receives membership No. 7.

24th February, 1920. Adolf Hitler announces a twenty-five point programme of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (N.S.D.A.P.).

Spring of 1921. S.A. (*Sturm-Abteilungen*) set up as a protective troop for the Party.

Acquisition by Röhm of the *Völkische Beobachter* for Party ends.

29th July, 1921. Adolf Hitler is appointed Führer (leader) of the National Socialist Party in place of Anton Drexler.

8th-9th November, 1923. Hitler's attempt at a *putsch* in Munich miscarries. Sixteen National Socialists perish. Hitler and the majority of his Party friends are arrested. Imprisonment at Landsberg. *Mein Kampf* started.

8th July, 1924. Hitler resigns the leadership of the Party. Gregor Strasser takes over the reorganisation.

27th February, 1925. Hitler reassumes the leadership. Rapprochement with industrialists to procure the necessary monetary resources for propaganda.

- 1928 *Election*. The first twelve National Socialist Deputies enter the Reichstag.
- 1930 *Election*. One hundred and seven National Socialist Deputies in the Reichstag. In Thuringia Dr. Frick becomes the first National Socialist Minister: his office lasts fourteen months.
- 11th October, 1931. Formation of the "Harzburg Front", a common front composed of Hugenberg, Hitler and the Stahlhelm.
- 31st July, 1932. Two hundred and thirty National Socialist Deputies elected to the Reichstag.
- 6th November, 1932. Decrease in National Socialist mandates to one hundred and ninety-seven.
- 4th January, 1933. Political alliance between von Papen and Hitler which smooths the way to power.
- 30th January, 1933. Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor. National Socialist Party in power.
- 25th February, 1933. Reichstag fire.
- 5th March, 1933. In spite of severe oppression of the Left Parties, the National Socialists only obtain two hundred and eighty-eight of the six hundred and forty-seven mandates in the election.
- 9th March, 1933. Bavarian autonomy destroyed.
- 22nd June, 1933. Social-Democratic Party dissolved.
- 28th June, 1933. Volkspartei (National Party) dissolved.
- 5th July, 1933. Zentrum (Catholic) Party dissolved.
- 14th July, 1933. Reich law passed that the only political Party in Germany is the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist Party).
- 30th June, 1934. Purge in the Party. Murder of Röhm, Strasser, von Schleicher and hundreds of other National Socialist enemies.
- March, 1935. Saar plebiscite in favour of Germany.
- March, 1936. Occupation of the Rhineland.
- March, 1936. German rearmament announced.

4th February, 1938. Re-shuffle in the Government. Appointment of Ribbentrop and Brauchitsch. Elimination of all non-National Socialists from the Government.

12th March, 1938. Annexation of Austria.

29th September, 1938. Munich Four-Power Pact. Occupation of the Sudetenland.

15th March, 1939. Occupation of Czechoslovakia.

23rd March, 1939. Occupation of Memel.

1st September, 1939. Danzig arbitrarily declares itself part of the German Reich. Outbreak of hostilities in Poland.

3rd September, 1939. England and France declare war on the Third Reich.

